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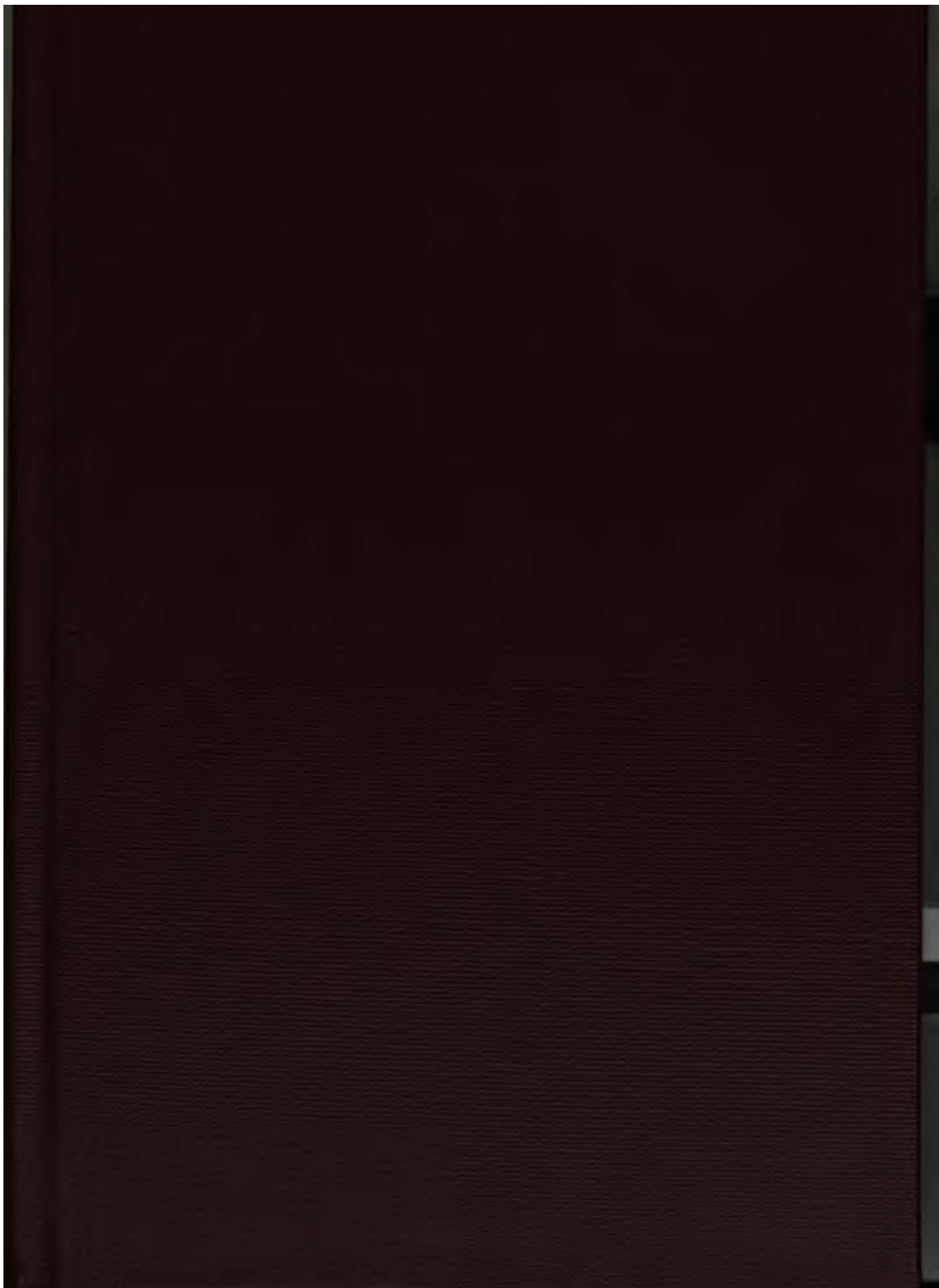
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CHILDREN UNDER THE POOR LAW

THEIR EDUCATION TRAINING AND AFTER-CARE

TOGETHER WITH

A Criticism of the Report of the Departmental Committee on
Metropolitan Poor Law Schools

BY

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12 //



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CHAPTER VI.

THE USE MADE OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

IN country and quasi-country Unions the practice of sending the workhouse children to the neighbouring village schools has become almost universal. We have seen how up to 1874 only 98 Unions had adopted this method,¹ but according to the last Report of the Local Government Board ² 434 Unions out of a total of 648 now take advantage of the excellent education given in these schools. Less than thirty years ago the education given in the National Schools was in most instances much inferior to that which could be and was given in the workhouse schools, where the number of children was large enough to secure efficient teaching. Thus Mr. T. B. Browne, in his Report for 1868, illustrates the extraordinary difference in results produced by the different systems of management by the examples of two Unions, both agricultural, and both in the same county, viz., Whitchurch and Atcham, in Shropshire, as follows :³

“The population of Whitchurch Union at the last census was 11,272; that of Atcham 19,314. In the Whitchurch Workhouse, on the 7th of March last (1867), I saw four boys and two girls, and was told that three other children were absent. The children went out of the workhouse to school. As some excuse for the badness of the spelling, a boy said that spelling was not taught. The arithmetic, however, was no better, as none present could subtract 5 from 7, and one only could read. At Atcham, on the 26th of April last, 24 boys, 22 girls, and 16 infants were present in school, five other children being absent. Twenty-eight children read the Testament well, and ten others easy narratives; 36 could write their names, and the style of penmanship was decidedly good; 20 wrote a sentence correctly, and 25 numbers from dictation; in arithmetic 11 were correct in proportion, 7 correct and 1 incorrect in the compound, 8 correct and 5 incorrect in the simple rules. Several children had also a very fair knowledge of geography and of English history. The industrial training at Atcham as well as the other instruction is very good. The population of Whit-

¹ Introductory chapter, p. 38.

² 20 *P. L. B.*, p. 147.

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxvii.

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church Union is considerably more than half that of Atcham, yet, for one child whom the Whitchurch Guardians educate nominally, the Atcham Guardians give a real education to ten."

And for some years later than 1868 the practice of sending out the children to outside schools does not seem to have worked very well. Thus in 1872 Mr. T. B. Browne reported as follows:¹

"In some Unions the children who go out to school are very fairly instructed, as at Bromyard and Corwen, though I do not remember any instance in which such children had reached the educational standard of a really good workhouse school; but at Llandovery Workhouse in November last I found eleven children who went out to school all very ignorant of Christianity as well as of other subjects. None were in the compound rules of arithmetic, and a boy who had been three years at school could not read an easy book. In fact, one child only out of the eleven could read with any fluency. Where the children are so few as at Llandovery, and in some other Unions, they must depend for education upon a neighbouring school; but where a good workhouse school with a sufficient attendance of children is broken up, there is much to lose and nothing to gain. I have indeed been often told that the workhouse school was better than the neighbouring village school."

But as education in the public elementary schools improved, the advantages of letting the workhouse children have the benefit of it became very apparent; and although the school managers at first objected to their coming to the schools, experience has removed this prejudice. In fact they have now not only to admit that these children are a pattern of cleanliness, order, and punctuality to the rest of the school,² but that the schools have been improved by their example. Indeed, while no one would be prepared to deny that it was to their advantage to mix as much as possible with the outside world, it would almost appear that it was the ordinary village child who received the most benefit by associating with the workhouse child.³

¹ 2 *L. G. B.*, p. 107. Mr. Browne adds: "The question whether pauper children should be sent out to school was fully considered as long ago as the year 1848, and I have now before me a letter from Sir James Shuttleworth, who was at that time Secretary to the Committee of Council of Education, discouraging the practice." See further Dr. Clutterbuck's Report of 1876 (5 *L. G. B.*, pp. 155-160). He described the elementary school of the day as a "mechanical gymnasium where the creation of thinking power is at a discount, and uninformedness of mind and general somnolency of intellect the rule. (*Ibid.*, p. 160.)

² Mr. Mozley in his Report for 1894 (23 *L. G. B.*, p. 149) says that "all the teachers whom I questioned agreed that the children from the workhouse were punctual, clean, and that there was perfect friendliness between them and the other children."

³ See 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 138; and 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 130. Dr. Clutterbuck thought it an open question whether they really benefited by association with other children. See 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 103.

On this point Mr. Mozley wrote in 1892 as follows:¹

"Complaints are not unknown of boys contracting rude and in-subordinate habits through their greater freedom and association with other boys; possibly, too, in part from want of sufficient supervision. It is only in a minority of cases that I hear such complaints, where I have visited Unions in which the children are sent out to school; but still they do occur often enough to show that the fault is not imaginary."

The evidence seems to us to show that the main advantage of sending the children from workhouses to public elementary schools lies in their getting a better *scholastic* education there than it is possible to give in small workhouse schools. Mr. Mozley, indeed, has more than once published in his Reports comparative tables of the results of the education given under the two systems, and the children attending the public elementary schools do best in examination;² but he says that the fact is not surprising.

"The reason is not so much the intrinsic superiority of the teachers in the outside schools (though it cannot be denied that this is an element in the case), but it is far more owing to the fact that where the school is inside the workhouse, school instruction is made to yield to the necessities of industrial work, whereas when the children are sent to a school outside the workhouse they are compelled to attend school with perfect regularity, and it is the industrial training which is apt to go to the wall."³

The loss of this industrial training must, of course, be set against the gain of a better scholastic education, although it is only fair to state that doubts have been cast on the value of the industrial training which can be given in a workhouse school where the number of children is small.⁴

¹ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 102. In his Report of the following year (23 *L. G. B.*, p. 149) Mr. Mozley somewhat qualifies this statement by saying that these complaints came from masters of workhouses, the chaplain in one case strongly expressing the same opinion, but that the teachers in some schools, whom he had questioned since, had no complaints to make on this score.

² e.g., 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 121; 14 *L. G. B.*, p. 45. In an examination at the Whitchurch (Hants) National Schools, in 1891, the workhouse children passed 13 per cent. above the average of the school.

SUBJECTS.			VILLAGE CHILDREN.	WORKHOUSE CHILDREN.
Passed in Reading	.	.	94%	93%
" Writing	.	.	51%	80%
" Arithmetic	.	.	89%	100%
" the three subjects	.	.	78%	91%

³ 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 121.

⁴ See 12 *L. G. B.*, p. 77; 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 40; 16 *L. G. B.*, pp. 96, 97, 104.

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In his Report for 1892¹ Mr. Mozley directs attention to this defect, and to the remedy for it. He says that

"The half-time system, which is theoretically possible with children sent to public elementary schools, is practically much disfavoured by teachers in those schools, who see that a half-time scholar will not do them as much credit as one who attends school full time. Hence, when children are sent from a workhouse to a public elementary school their industrial training is apt to be less than when they attend a workhouse school. The real and proper remedy for this defect is the increased use of technical education in public elementary schools. But technical education is in its infancy at present, and Boards of Guardians do well, I think, who (as is done at Middlesborough) require that the elder children whom they send out to school shall be allowed the advantage of the half-time standard, when they have passed it, with the view of giving them more complete industrial instruction."

Another disadvantage to which Mr. Holgate refers in his Report for 1877 is the loss to the children of the good religious education which they received in the workhouse schools. He said :

"In many cases the Guardians have sent their children to Board Schools in which either no religious observance is carried out, or it is confined to Bible reading, and my attention has been called to the marked change for the worse in language and behaviour which has resulted in some Unions in my district from the adoption of the plan."²

A further disadvantage mentioned by Mr. Mozley refers to the lessened acquaintance of Guardians with the state of the children as regards their educational proficiency.³

"If in a Poor Law school the children are making poor progress, the report of the school inspector of your Board necessarily brings this fact before the notice of the Guardians; but if they are making poor progress when sent to a public elementary school, there is no use to call the attention of the Guardians to this fact; and though it may be said that it is to the interest of the school teachers that the children shall progress, that interest is not always practically sufficient. I have known cases of children from workhouses being kept in the

¹ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 102.

² 6 *L. G. B.*, p. 95.

³ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 103. See also 12 *L. G. B.* p. 78, where Mr. Mozley makes the following useful suggestion : "The best method that I know of securing that this possibility may not become a reality, is one that also serves to increase the interest of the children in their work; namely, by the Guardians giving cards of merit to those children who are successful in passing any standard in all the three elementary subjects. The cards I refer to are not unfrequently given by the managers of public elementary schools, and are designed to record the children's success (the standard in which each child is examined being noted on them); any school stationer will supply them; they are always inexpensive and often elegant."

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"When such an officer, being a caretaker, is employed to teach the boys in a trade, or the girls in domestic work, a part of the salary is generally repaid to the Guardians by the Local Government Board. It might be supposed, therefore, that the salary offered would be such as to attract competent officers, but there is great difficulty in finding a man who will remain for any length of time in such a position. A male officer of this kind will not stay, on an average, more than a year in his post, to judge by my district. Female officers, on the other hand, will stay in such a situation nearly four years on an average. I suppose that the task of superintendence, which is congenial to a woman, is too minute in its requirements to be performed very efficiently by a man. On the other hand, it demands but little physical labour, and is thus neither very satisfactory to a really active man, nor highly remunerated."

In too many cases the duty of looking after the children out of school hours is left to the master and matron, or some other workhouse officer, but as these officers have other duties to perform which take up almost all their time, the children are, in fact, to a considerable extent left to the charge of pauper inmates.¹

Mr. Holgate, in his Report for 1878, mentions with satisfaction that the Local Government Board in sanctioning proposals to send the children to school outside the workhouse, required provision to be made for a paid officer to take charge of the children when in the workhouse on return from school; a proportion of these officers' salaries being repaid to the Guardians out of the Parliamentary grant² in all cases where, the half-time system being adopted, it is shown that they are also teachers of some industry.³ But the conditions laid down in the circular letter issued by the Poor Law Board on the 12th March, 1867,⁴ have to be observed in order to obtain the grant. One of these conditions is that there must be at least an average number of thirty children in the school. Mr. Byam Davies expresses himself in favour of this rule being relaxed so as to admit of repayment for an industrial trainer, it being so important that there should be proper supervision of children out of school hours.⁵ "For if, during the greater part of the day, they are left entirely to their own devices or put under the charge of pauper inmates, it is doubtful whether they do not lose nearly as much from want of looking after in the workhouse as they gain by mixing with other children at school."

But, no doubt, the object of the condition being made was to break up the very small workhouse schools, and to induce the Guardians

¹ 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 34.

² These grants are now paid by County Councils under the Local Government Act, 1888.

³ 8 *L. G. B.*, p. 150.

⁴ See Appendix F., p. 408.

⁵ 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 131.

to send their children to schools of other Unions in which there was accommodation for them. And this is the course recommended by Mr. Byam Davies. He writes as follows on the point:¹

"There are a certain number of workhouses where the school accommodation is greatly in excess of the present number of children, and a considerable saving of expense could be brought about if the Guardians of these Unions would take in the children belonging to other small Unions. By doing this one teacher could do the work now done by two, and besides there would be more inducement to a better class of teachers to apply for the place in case of a vacancy, as no one with any ambition would take a school of twenty or fewer children, many of them mere babies of from two to four years old. There are a few Unions in my district where children are taken in in this manner, and I see no reason why it should not be done much more frequently than at present, though, when it is feasible, I should much prefer that the children should be sent out to school or educated in a separate district school; but I imagine that there is no prospect of any extensive carrying out of the latter plan as long as rateable value, and not the number of children sent, is the basis of the contribution to be made by each Union in the District."

It may be said that the testimony of the inspectors is unanimously in favour of the system we are describing, provided that proper provision is made for the supervision of the children inside the workhouse. The advantage to them in shaking off, by contact with the children in the school outside, much of that inertness which is apt to characterise them when they spend the whole day in their own company and between four walls, outweighs the many minor disadvantages to which we have drawn attention.² Uniform dress is now a thing of the past, and the difference between the workhouse and any other village child would hardly be noticeable to anyone who saw them together, except that the dress of the former might look neater and better kept than that of the latter.

The system of sending the children to public elementary schools has been shown by experience to be so much better on the whole than educating them in the workhouse school that the comparative cost of the two systems need not be considered; but we may refer those who are curious in the matter to Dr. Clutterbuck's Report for 1886, where he shows that the workhouse school is the cheaper to the ratepayers.³

We are no believers in the so-called "pauper taint"; but supposing such a thing to exist, it must not be thought for a moment that it

¹ 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 131.

² Per Mr. Mosley, 12 *L. G. B.*, p. 77. His criticisms of the system are very valuable.

³ 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 107.

disappears directly a child is sent to school outside the workhouse. It is quite impossible to advocate the system on this ground. Thus Dr. Clutterbuck, in one of his many valuable Reports advocating the combination of country Unions for the provision of schools, either by the utilisation of one of the workhouses or by new buildings, by which the children would be entirely separated from adult paupers, said that Guardians who think that the children will lose the taint of pauperism by associating with a better class of children, are apt to overlook the following facts:¹

"First. That the workhouse within whose walls they object to have the children instructed—this workhouse, with all its pauperising influences, remains the children's home—a home in which they have lost the protection and advice of a good teacher, and gain in exchange (too frequently) the sole supervision of some pauper inmate, thus reducing to a minimum the little possible advantage resulting from a wider range of experience with the outer world. Second. That at Board or other Elementary Schools the workhouse children will naturally associate with those most akin to themselves in character and general habits—the children, that is, of the very class from which the ranks of improvidence, pauperism, and crime are so largely recruited. Moreover, a general spirit of insubordination arises, engendered by envy of the freedom from restraint to which they, the workhouse children, are subjected. The workhouse child must possess an unusual amount of moral courage if it can patiently endure the taunt of an outsider."

And many persons with a long experience of Poor Law Administration will endorse the remarks of this inspector on the same subject made ten years later.² He said:

"In a previous Report I have drawn attention to a point which must not be unduly emphasised, viz., that it is useless to expect that the system, apart from any merits it may otherwise possess, can eradicate what is popularly called the '*workhouse taint*' so long as the children remain *inmates* of the *workhouse*. They may or may not be benefited by association with other school children, and this, in my opinion, is quite an open question, and one on which there is a great conflict of evidence; but it is quite certain that the system cannot get rid of the ordinary associations of the workhouse. The life in the house itself, the necessary intercourse with characters from which they should be most carefully kept apart (especially during the school holidays), the imperfect classification which is common more or less to every workhouse, and prevails especially in small rural Unions; all this must tend to foster the spirit of pauperism if *that*

¹ 6 L. G. B., p. 82.

² 16 L. G. B., p. 103. This Report is an able criticism of the various methods of dealing with the Poor Law children.

spirit be indeed, as is popularly supposed, an inseparable incident of workhouse life."

But while we are entirely in agreement with Dr. Clutterbuck on this point, experience has shown that the system of sending out the children to schools outside is, where proper supervision is provided for them out of school hours in the workhouse, a more satisfactory method than keeping them within the four walls of a workhouse school, and that the improvement in their health and physique which results from the adoption of the system must be considered as more than an equivalent for any loss of industrial instruction which they would otherwise obtain.

In consequence of the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools that "all Poor Law children be educated as far as possible in the ordinary public elementary schools, side by side with other children,"¹ some of the large Unions have been led to consider the subject, and to press school managers to receive their children into those schools. The following interesting letter, which appeared in the *Times* of the 2nd of March, 1897, shows that the main objection of the school managers to receiving the children—viz., that relating to the additional burden which would be put upon the rates—has no real basis.

"WORKHOUSE CHILDREN AT PARISH SCHOOLS.

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"SIR,—The Education Bill of last year contained a provision for enabling Boards of Guardians to pay fees for such of their children as attended either the Board or Voluntary school of the parish in which the workhouse is situated (Clause 24). This was one of the few sections in the Bill that excited but little opposition, and regret has been expressed that the clause was not included in the measure now before Parliament. This being the case, perhaps you will allow me, for the information of your readers and especially of those who are managers of schools receiving workhouse children, to state that the clause is not really required, and that if the consent of the Education Department can be obtained guardians can under the present law pay the fees.

"The East Preston Union Workhouse stands in one of my parishes, and ten years ago we accepted the children, for whose education the guardians were responsible, as scholars at our parish school. The board paid extra fees, and the loss to the school was inconsiderable, as the number of the children was then small.

"When the Free Education Act came into force the payment of fees ceased, while the number of the workhouse children largely increased,

¹ Report, p. 45.

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and we had for their benefit both to enlarge the school at a cost of £300 and engage an additional teacher. As the Union is rated at over £200,000 a year and the parish at less than £2000, this was a hardship for which I determined, if possible, to find a remedy.

"Section 4 (1) of the Free Education Act provides that 'the Education Department, if they are satisfied that sufficient accommodation, without payment of fees, has been provided for a school district, and that the charge of fees will be for the educational benefit of any part of the district, may approve such charge in any particular school,' and I wrote to the Department pointing out that this clause exactly suited our case, and asked them to exercise the discretion it gives in our favour, adding that the Local Government Board, in a circular letter, had strongly advocated sending workhouse children to village schools.

"My correspondence with the Department was continued for more than two years. There was no precedent for acceding to the request I made, and the officials were at first unwilling to create one. When, however, the Bill of last year was withdrawn, and with it Clause 24, they relented, and in November last authorised the payment of sixpence per week for each scholar.

"The assent of the guardians had then to be obtained, but this was readily given, as the board gains largely by not having to maintain a school of its own, and the payment for the first quarter has just been received.

"I may add that on the guardians assenting to pay the fees we at once requested them to nominate a representative on our committee of management, and this also was done.

"In the section referred to of the Bill of 1896 it was provided that guardians might also contribute to the building of schools taking their children, but I doubt if this is expedient, though at the present moment we have to raise a further £250 for a separate infants' school. If the guardians made a grant for building they would become part owners of the school, and this would not be a satisfactory arrangement.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"A. M. DEANE.

"FERRING VICARAGE, WORTHING,
"February 27th."

We will conclude this chapter, as we have done in previous ones, with a short account of how the children are actually dealt with in a Union where they have since 1885 been sent out from the workhouse to school. All the children, whether "in and out" or not, go out to school, except that, as a rule, no child under five does so during the winter. They are dressed like other children, and go and return without escort like others. They mix with other children freely, and are on good and even affectionate terms with them. Some of them may be seen coming back with the policeman's children, with their arms round each other's necks. There is no reason to believe that they

associate with the lowest class of children by preference; they appear to rank and blend with the others in the usual way. They can take good care of themselves.

As to their conduct and intelligence while at school, the following Report (dated 9th February, 1897) from the schoolmaster speaks for itself:

REPORT.

Compared with other children of the same class of life:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. <i>Punctuality</i> . . . Excellent | <i>Conduct</i> Good |
| <i>Cleanliness</i> Excellent | <i>Intelligence</i> Satisfactory |
- II. (*As to Standards*). Children remain in same standard for twelve months except the extra intelligent, who may be advanced two standards in one year.
- III. (*Progress of individual children*). Satisfactory with the intelligent Union children. Result of last three examinations, 'excellent.'

Table of Elder Children.

Boys.				Girls.			
Name.	Age.	Standard.		Name.	Age.	Standard.	
F. P.	12	VI.	good	A. B.	10	IV.	good
W. H.	13	„	„	A. W.	9	„	v. good
E. P.	12	„	„	M. H.	12	„	good
A. S.	11	IV.	„	E. B.	11	III.	v. fair
F. H.	10	„	„	A. M.	9	III.	good
F. B.	13	„	v. fair	B. T.	9	III.	good

Good for their position.

Good on the whole.

As to religious instruction and services, the children have the same instruction in school as the others. They attend Sunday-school on the first and third Sundays in each month. They attend service every Sunday morning in the workhouse chapel, and on the second and fourth Sundays in each month at the school. It is hoped shortly to make arrangements for their attending the village church. There is no special religious instruction given in the workhouse, the chaplain having nothing to do with the children.

In the workhouse the children do not mix with the other inmates, except that they have their meals in the same room with them, but at separate tables; nor are they allowed to associate with them in any way. While not at school they are under the charge of two paid officers, viz., the "male industrial trainer" (salary £30), and the "female industrial trainer" (salary £20), whose business it is to look after them. The accommodation for the children is quite separate from the other inmates. The schoolrooms, with wood-block floors, are to the right and left of the main entrance to the workhouse, and the children's bedrooms have a separate staircase and access. There are separate exercise yards for boys and girls, and they have a capital playground well away from the workhouse, beyond the farm-ground and buildings, where they play at cricket, football, with hoops, etc.

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The "time-table" for the industrial training of children over nine years of age is as follows :

Monday, Tuesday, & Thursday.	{	All children 2 hours "domestic training."		
Wednesday and Friday.		Boys (half-timers), 3½ hours, "industrial" and "domestic." " (other) 2 " "domestic." Girls (half-timers) 4 " "needlework" and "domestic" " (other) 2 " "domestic."		
Saturday.		All children 4 hours, "domestic" (getting ready for Sunday).		

[NOTE.—"Domestic training" means: making beds, cleaning up, scrubbing, cleaning boots, washing, ironing, mending, etc.; and "industrial training" means tailoring. (The tailor's shop, which can be warmed, is in the boys' exercise yard.)]

The health of the children is very good. There is no ophthalmia. What there is of skin and scalp disease is brought in by new comers, and is very rarely brought in from school.

The children are usually sent out to service at between thirteen and fourteen years of age, when they have passed the proper standard, the Guardians preferring to get their boys and girls out into the world as soon as possible rather than to keep them in the workhouse. They think that the children learn more and better outside the workhouse than they are likely to do inside it. The boys either take up farm-work or service, and sometimes (but not often) are sent to sea. The girls all go to service in families of the farmer or shopkeeper class. The Guardians find no difficulty in obtaining employment for either boys or girls, and they are now considering the question of "after-care." Still, the children have always been urged on going out to write to one or other of the Guardians, and if their service is in the Union they are never lost sight of. On the 1st of January, 1897, there were forty-five children (twenty-four boys and twenty-one girls) in the workhouse, of whom thirty-three (twenty-one boys and twelve girls) were over five years of age. Of the whole forty-five, five only could be classed as "ins and outs."

Thirty-two children (twenty boys and twelve girls) have left this workhouse for service since 1887, with the following results :

BOYS.		GIRLS.	
Sent out	20	Sent out	12
Returned to workhouse	0		
Recent touch—		Recent touch—	
(a) Known to be doing well	10	(a) Known to be doing well (two well married).	11
(b) Living at home with mother, and believed to be doing well	6	(b) Believed to be doing well	1
(c) Not very satisfactory	1		
(d) Lost sight of—			
Army, 2; Canada, 1	3		

Such results seem to us to entirely upset the theory of the "pauper taint." The statistics are recent, and bear out the other statistics which we have already given of the depauperising influences of a Poor Law education.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM

IN the introductory chapters we have shown how the system of boarding-out Poor Law children originated, and have pointed out how surely but gradually it has grown into favour as a mode of dealing with certain classes of these children.¹ It is now regulated by two Orders issued in 1889:²

- (1) The Boarding of Children in Unions Order, and
- (2) The Boarding-out Order.

Under the first of these Orders, children can be boarded-out *within* the Unions to which they are chargeable by the Guardians of all the Unions and separate parishes in England and Wales except those situate in the Metropolis; and under the second of the Orders, children can be boarded out *without* the limits of the Unions to which they are chargeable by every Board of Guardians in the kingdom.

Further, the Guardians of any Union which is authorised to board out children under the first Order may do so either through the medium of a Boarding-out Committee, or not, as they think fit; whereas Guardians can only board out children beyond the limits of their Unions under properly constituted Boarding-out Committees.

The above are the main differences between the two methods of boarding-out, although both methods have their own special merits and defects.

The advantages of the boarding-out system generally,³ as compared

¹ *Ante*, pp. 25-29, 31.

² Both Orders bear date 28th May, 1889. The Boarding-out Order replaced the Order of 1870, and the Boarding of Children in Unions Order that of 1877.

³ Mr. Mozley, in his Report for 1890, refers to another system in use in Lancashire (and to a less degree in Yorkshire), which may be called "boarding-out without payment." "In the more prosperous towns private persons are willing to adopt children from the workhouse without receiving any payment from the Guardians. The names of these children are (except in exceptional cases) entered in the register together with the children sent to service from the workhouse, and they are visited by the relieving officer. Reckoning all the children sent out under ten years old as

with other systems of dealing with Poor Law children, are manifest. It is the nearest approach that can possibly be made to a real home life for the children. They are, as a rule, boarded out in the country; they grow up with the family in which they are placed; they can run about freely; they are not marked out from other children of their class; and they often, if not generally, become merged in the local population of the place where they have been brought up. Miss Mason mentions the additional advantages that "the children learn to take care of themselves, become acquainted with the everyday details of everyday life, and work in the class to which they belong, and above all make friends or at least acquaintances before they go out into the world, upon whom they can fall back."¹ Then, supposing a child is unable to keep its first or subsequent situations, it has a home to go to while another is being found for it, instead of having to return to the workhouse or the school.² Lastly, it has the further *apparent* advantage that it is the cheapest system; we say *apparent* because, while it undoubtedly affords the cheapest way of dealing with a child *during the time it is boarded out*, it remains to be proved whether it is cheapest in the end.

But with all these advantages it is quite capable of becoming the very worst system of dealing with Poor Law children, unless it is most carefully administered. So many cases of cruelty to and neglect of these children in the families with which they were placed have been discovered, and it is so easy for such cases to go undetected, that it is possible they are of more frequent occurrence than anyone would imagine.

Miss Mason tells us also, that she has found children who have been actually blamed or punished by the committees which are established for their protection, for complaining of cruelties inflicted upon them!³ These dangers were well known to the framers of the original Order of 1870. Mr. Henley, indeed, in his Report of the same year directed attention to them;⁴ and in the Memorandum⁵ which accompanied the issue of the Order, it was acknowledged that the success of the system would entirely depend upon the exercise of the

'adopted,' some sixty are probably placed out thus every year in the whole of Lancashire. A good many change their homes, and some return to the workhouse; but real ill-treatment is, I fully believe, rare, though boarding-out with payment is probably safer, as well as juster." (20 *L. G. B.*, p. 259.) The inducement to take the children lies, of course, in the hope of future service from them.

¹ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 160; see also 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 198.

² This great advantage, however, can be, and has in fact been secured under other systems.

³ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 160.

⁴ See *ante*, pp. 26, 27.

⁵ 23 *P. L. B.*, pp. 11-12.

utmost caution and diligence on the part of those who were called upon to administer it. Accordingly, certain conditions and regulations have been embodied in the Orders, upon the promised fulfilment of which the sanction of the Central Authority to boarding-out is conditional. The principal conditions and regulations, which apply now to the boarding-out of all children under the supervision of Boarding-out Committees, are as follows:¹

(1) Every Boarding-out Committee must be approved by the Local Government Board.

There must be not less than three persons on every Boarding-out Committee, of whom at least one must be a lady. There are in fact very few committees now with less than three ladies. The number must depend upon the circumstances and the area, but it must be sufficient to ensure proper visitation of the children and the joint responsibility of the Committee.²

No person who derives any pecuniary or other personal profit from the boarding-out of any of the children under the Order can become, or (if already a member) continue to be, a member of the Committee.

Before a Boarding-out Committee can act as such, it must obtain the written authority of the Local Government Board to enter into arrangements with the Board of Guardians for the purpose of finding and superintending homes for pauper children. When an application is made to the Board for the written authority, a form must be filled in stating the rank, profession, or calling of the applicants; and the Board further require to be furnished with the name of some member of the Committee who will engage to perform the office of secretary, and who may be made responsible for conducting the correspondence and business transactions.

When arrangements are made between Committees and Boards of Guardians, engagements should be taken with respect to the following points:

1. On the part of the Guardians:

(a) As to the sum which they will pay for each child weekly on a suitable home being found.³

¹ The Orders are founded on the assumption of voluntary associations being formed for the purpose of co-operating with Boards of Guardians in providing and superintending homes for pauper children, due securities being taken (1) for the respectability and disinterestedness of such associations and (2) for the regularity of their proceedings, and for the observance on their part of the legal requirements attaching to the work which they undertake. (See 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 14.)

² Evidence of Miss Mason before the Departmental Committee. Question 14,242.

³ In no case may the sum to be paid to the foster-parent for the maintenance of a child, inclusive of lodging, but exclusive of clothing, school fees, fees for medical attendance, medicines, and extras ordered by a medical attendant, exceed four

- (b) As to the mode of payment ; for instance, as to the period at which the money will be remitted.
 - (c) As to the clothing of the child.
 - (d) As to the school expenses and school fees when they are still paid.
 - (e) As to the payment of medical fees, medicine, and extra nourishment in time of sickness.
 - (f) As to the payment of burial expenses in case of the death of the child.
2. On the part of the Committees :
- (a) To find homes for a certain number of children.
 - (b) To visit the homes at certain intervals.
 - (c) To observe all the regulations prescribed by the Local Government Board.
 - (d) To make periodical reports to the Guardians in such matters as may be agreed upon.
 - (e) To give up possession of any of the children upon the demand of any person duly authorised in writing by the Guardians.¹

Some Boards of Guardians require questions to be answered by Committees in the case of each and every home to which it is proposed to send a child before the child is sent. A form of catechism used by the Burton-on-Trent Board will be found in Appendix G,² and, if it be thought too long, it can only be said that each and every one of these questions has been found necessary in practice.³

The object of forbidding persons who derive any pecuniary or personal profits from boarding-out being members of the Committee, was the prevention of the serious abuses which were found to surround the "farming-out system" at the time when it prevailed. "No system of contracting with one person for a round sum to provide home and maintenance for a given number of pauper children would be sanctioned by the Board. The attention of the Board has been drawn to a suggestion that advertisements might be issued by

shillings per week. This maximum payment has been fixed in order to avoid the possibility of Unions bidding against each other for the purpose of finding homes, a practice, of course, strongly to be deprecated. "Nothing would, in the judgment of the Board, be less desirable and more calculated to defeat the success of the whole scheme than any attempt to force it by the offer of high pecuniary inducements. Within the limits of *four shillings* the Board desire to leave the settlement of the terms to the free action of the Committees and the Board of Guardians." (See 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 16.)

¹ For the Form of Agreement see *post*, Appendix G, p. 409. Form iv.

² *Post*, p. 411. Form v.

³ See 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 169.

Boards of Guardians inviting persons to apply for the charge of pauper children. The order of the Board now issued would not permit such a practice. Experience has conclusively proved that unless the homes are carefully selected by persons who have an intimate knowledge of the locality, and who at the same time take a responsible interest in the children to be placed out, great abuses are quite certain to ensue."¹

Those Boarding-out Committees are, as a rule, the best which keep to a limited number of children in a small area, for quality suffers from quantity.²

(2) *Each member of a Boarding-out Committee must sign an engagement in writing to observe the regulations prescribed by the Orders.*³

Mr. Bowyer considered it to be a great defect that no penalty was attached to the violation or neglect of the engagement entered into. "In the case of Boarding-out Committees this omission may well be accounted for by the fact that their services are gratuitous as well as voluntary, and such an argument, though implicitly a condemnation of the employment of such Committees for the protection of the children, must be allowed to possess some degree of force; but in the case of foster-parents (see *post*, p. 187), whose parental offices have been paid for, the argument does not apply; and there appears to be no reason why they should not further engage to submit to certain fixed pecuniary penalties upon failure to perform the duties which they had undertaken; such penalties to be imposed upon them by the Local Government Board, after a public inquiry by one of their inspectors. Graver delinquencies would, as at present, fall under the cognizance of the law."⁴

(3) *Every Boarding-out Committee must appoint one of its members as Secretary, who must from time to time inform the Local Government Board of any vacancies on the Committee caused by death, resignation, or otherwise, and of the correct names and addresses of the members, and who must twice a year, in January and July, make a return⁵ to the Board as to the number of children boarded out on the first day of each of those months.*

"It is very difficult to make a voluntary Committee understand that their secretary is merely their officer, appointed by themselves, who, though unpaid, is in much the same position as a Clerk to a Board of Guardians, and bound to carry out their instructions in the same way. As a matter of fact, the secretary is often the autocrat of the Committee, for the reason that it is he or she who started the Com-

¹ 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 14.

² 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 178.

³ For the Form of Engagement see Appendix G, *post*, p. 413.

⁴ 1 *L. G. B.*, p. 227.

⁵ See Appendix G, p. 414.

mittee, and who enlisted the other members by promising them that their duties would be merely nominal, or their responsibility limited to the particular cases which they might visit."¹

The form of engagement for Committees² now requires that the chair at their meetings should be taken by someone other than the secretary.

(4) *The Guardians who have boarded out a child with a Committee may at any time withdraw it from their charge, or from the foster-parent on proper notice being given to that effect.*

(5) *Only orphan and deserted children as defined by the Orders can be boarded out.*

"When applied to a legitimate child, the term 'orphan child' means a child both of whose parents are dead, or one of whose parents is dead, the other being under sentence of penal servitude, or suffering permanently from mental disease, or being permanently bedridden or disabled and an inmate of a workhouse, or being out of England; and the term 'deserted child' means a child deserted by both parents, or deserted by one parent, the other being dead, or under sentence of penal servitude, or suffering permanently from mental disease, or being permanently bedridden or disabled and an inmate of a workhouse, or being out of England; or a child one of whose parents is under sentence of penal servitude, or suffering permanently from mental disease, or is permanently bedridden or disabled and an inmate of a workhouse, or is out of England, the other parent being likewise in one of these conditions.

"When applied to an illegitimate child the term 'orphan child' means a child whose mother is dead; and the term 'deserted child' means a child deserted by its mother, or whose mother is under sentence of penal servitude, or suffering permanently from mental disease, or is permanently bedridden or disabled and an inmate of a workhouse, or who is out of England."

The argument in favour of limiting the boarding-out system to orphan or deserted children is as follows: "It is most important on all grounds to avoid severing or weakening in any way the ties of family, even where, owing to the character of the parents, it might be thought that the children would be benefited by removal from their control."³

(6) *Not more than two children may be boarded out by the Guardians in the same home at the same time unless all the children are brothers and sisters and do not exceed four in number.*

¹ 23 L. G. B., p. 162.

² See Appendix G, p. 413.

³ 23 P. L. B., p. 15.

(7) *Not more than one child may be boarded out by the Guardians in a house in which any child is boarded out by persons other than the Guardians, nor may any child be boarded out in a home in which there is more than one such child.*

(8) *No child may be boarded out in a home in which, at the time when the child would first be placed in it, there would be with such child more than five children resident.*

(9) *No child may be boarded out with any person who is in receipt of poor relief, or who has received poor relief within twelve months preceding the boarding out.*

The Boarding-out Order of 1870 contained no such provision as this last, although the Poor Law Board recommended that children should not be boarded out with persons in receipt of relief. The present Order prohibits the practice altogether.

The attention of the Local Government Board was also drawn to cases in which children had been boarded out with foster parents who had no means of support apart from the allowances made by the Guardians for the benefit of the children, and in their Circular to Boards of Guardians dated the 29th May, 1889, they took the opportunity to point out how injurious such a practice must be to the best interests of the children, and to express the hope that in future no children will be placed with foster-parents who have not some adequate means of support.¹ That this practice still continues, however, is testified to by Miss Mason. She speaks of numerous cases where the foster-parents have no means of living but the children's payment, and of the discontent which is caused thereby. "Sometimes," she says, "when I ask them what they have to live on, they answer quite simply, 'Only the children.' One woman lately added, 'The parish won't give you anything if you've got them!' Another, a widow, much excited over her grievances, exclaimed to me recently, 'Why should Mrs. Smith have four children and she a husband, and I only two, with nothing but my own hands to keep me? It's not fair!'"²

(10) *No child may be boarded out with a foster-parent of a religious creed different to that of the child.*

(11) *No child may be boarded out without a certificate from a Medical Officer of the Union as to its health. (See Appendix G, p. 416, for form.)*

(12) *No child can be boarded out with any foster parent who does not sign the necessary undertaking with regard to it, and an acknowledgment of its delivery.³*

¹ See 19 L. G. B., p. 46.

² 22 L. G. B., p. 124.

³ For these forms see Appendix G, *post*, pp. 415, 416.

The Clifton Boarding-out Committee use the following card for foster-parents, so as to remind them of their duties:

- (1) It is the wish of the Committee that the visitors should from time to time examine the child's whole stock of clothing, take off a shoe and stocking, and see the neck and arms; also that the bed and bedding of the boarded-out child should be examined and the whole house seen. No foster-parents who are doing their duty will resent such inspection, which can only prove their trustworthiness. These inspections are not made on suspicion, but because the visitors are bound to report to the Committee from their own knowledge at first hand.
- (2) Lodgers are not allowed.
- (3) The foster-parents must receive the visitor at any hour of the day she wishes to call.
- (4) No boarded-out child must be sent to the public-house for any purpose whatever.
- (5) Boarded-out children must be sent regularly to school, and to church or chapel, and always in a neat and tidy condition.
- (6) The clothing must be kept up from the time that the children are first boarded out, and must be provided out of the allowance made by the Guardians.

It seems to be a defect in the law that no penalty is attached to the breach of the undertaking by the foster parent.¹

(13) *No child may be boarded out in any home which is distant more than five miles by the nearest road of access from the residence of some member of the Boarding-out Committee.*

The limit of distance was fixed in order to facilitate the visiting of the children; but in the opinion of the Central Authority it is desirable that the homes should be still more accessible.² Now that the area of Boarding-out Committees is limited to a certain parish, or particular parishes, with a view to its not being too large for the purposes of the necessary supervision, it is easy to observe the regulation, and at the present time there are few, if any, children so remote from their supervisors as five miles away.

(14) *Every child boarded out must be visited in his home once in every six weeks by some member of the Boarding-out Committee, who must report in writing upon its condition, etc., to the Committee, and the written reports must be forwarded by the Boarding-out Committee to the Guardians not less often than quarterly.* If these reports are not sent for a space

¹ 1 *L. G. B.*, p. 227, and *ante*, p. 184.

² The Board suggests three miles as the limit, 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 44.

of four consecutive months, the Guardians must either cause the child to be visited by one of their officers at intervals of not more than six weeks, or withdraw the child altogether.

As the success of the boarding-out system depends entirely on the regularity of the inspection of the homes where the children are placed, it is most important for Boards of Guardians to be particular that this regulation is observed. No report form has been presented by the Local Government Board; but the form recommended by Miss Mason is that used by the Burton-on-Trent Board of Guardians.¹

This report form and other forms used by this Board of Guardians, which has been among the most successful with its boarded-out children, will be found in the Appendix G.²

"It is very difficult," says Miss Mason, "to make some Committees realise the necessity for the Board's injunction that no child shall be left to the sole visitation of an individual member of the Committee. The 'visitors' often prefer dividing the children among them, each considering those she (or he) visits her special property, who must not be interfered with by the rest of the Committee. No doubt some visitors take more interest in children under their special care, and there is no reason why the children should not thus be divided, only so long as some other member of the Committee also inspects them from time to time, otherwise the Committee are liable to painful surprises with regard to children whom they have entrusted to the care of individuals."³

(15) *The Clerk to the Guardians has to make a return to the Local Government Board twice a year, in April and October, as to the children who are boarded out, on the first day of these months.*

(16) *No child may be boarded out more than two miles from a school, the master of which is willing to send to the Guardians at least once a quarter a written report upon it.*

An extra fee, not exceeding one penny a week, may be allowed to the schoolmaster by the Guardians, as a remuneration for the trouble of drawing up the reports. (For forms of Report see Appendix G, pp. 415, 417.)

If regular reports from a schoolmaster, independent of the Committee, are secured, a very valuable additional guarantee against any ill-treatment of the children remaining undiscovered will be afforded.

There is one very important distinction between the two Orders. Under the Boarding-out Order no child can be boarded out at an

¹ Published by Messrs. Knight & Co., of 90, Fleet Street, E.C.

² See *post*, pp. 409-413.

³ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 164. This does not, of course, mean that visits are to be made by more than one person at a time, a practice which is not considered desirable. See *post*, p. 203.

earlier age than two, nor can any child over ten years of age be boarded out, unless it is placed in the same home with a brother or sister under that age. There are no such limits of age mentioned in the Boarding-out in *Unions* Order; the reason for the distinction being probably that in the latter case it is more difficult to make regulations where there is a large discretion in the matter of granting out-relief.

With regard to these limits of age, the experience gained in Scotland strongly proves the many objections to the Boarding-out of children older than ten, and the great advantage of placing out children at as early an age as possible after infancy."¹

The experience of the West Derby Guardians has led them to resolve to board out no children above eight years of age. "Elder girls are much better dealt with in small schools or training homes."² The Braintree Committee have, also, formally expressed their opinion that no child should be boarded out for the first time after the age of six, except in special cases.³

Miss Mason does not advise the boarding-out of children above ten years of age. She says:⁴ "I often find older children drudged, neglected, or ill-treated, and regarded rather as servants than as children of the house. It is not reasonable to expect foster-parents to take to a big child whose habits are already formed, in the same way that they can do a little thing whom, as they say, they can bring up as their own, and who can most likely remember no other father or mother."

Again she writes:⁵

"Foster-parents are but human, and they cannot be expected to take to an elder child with habits already formed, and perhaps troublesome, as they can to a younger one. One woman, for instance, speaking of two boys of about nine and eleven or twelve said to me: 'It's not right to send them out so old; they eat as much as a man, and you can't manage them; they want their own way.' I hear perpetual complaints of elder children. On the other hand, a young child wins its own way to the hearts, not only of the women but the men, who constantly say, you can't but love it; it's got such taking ways! It is rare to find one ill-treated, and they are usually kept in faultless condition, and supplied with clothing, playthings, and comforts of every kind. It is but right to add, however, that I sometimes come across cases where foster-parents have later become tired of children, whom they made pets of and perhaps spoilt when very young."⁶

¹ 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 15.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 87.

³ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 176.

⁴ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 233. See also 17 *L. G. B.*, p. 108; 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 202; and 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 176.

⁵ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 125.

⁶ For further remarks on this point see *pass.*, p. 395.

There is, also, always a difficulty in finding suitable homes where an elder child already boarded out has, for whatever reason it may be, to be removed to a fresh home.¹

Although the Orders are silent as to the following points,² it is most important :

1. That children should not be boarded out with relations.
2. That children should not be boarded out in any home where the father is employed in night work ; and that in every case the foster-parents should be, by preference, persons engaged in outdoor and not in sedentary labour.
3. That, in choosing the home, special attention should be paid to decent accommodation, and the proper separation of the sexes in the sleeping rooms. Children over seven years of age should never be allowed to sleep in the same room with married couples.
4. That no child should be boarded out in a house where sleeping accommodation is afforded to an adult lodger.
5. That particular attention should in all cases be given to the schoolmaster's quarterly report ; and if after two warnings to the foster-parents the report continues unfavourable, the child should be instantly withdrawn, and either transferred to another home, or sent back to the Union from whence it came ; and
6. That great care should always be given to providing the children with good ordinary clothing. No child should be boarded-out by the Guardians without a suitable outfit, for the repair and renewal of which a quarterly allowance, not exceeding 10s., should be made to the foster-parents by the Guardians. Anything resembling a "workhouse uniform" should be most carefully avoided.

No regulations are laid down as to the size of towns or villages to which the children should be sent, but the Central Authority recommend that they should not be sent to homes or places containing more than 15,000 inhabitants. All boarding-out in large towns should be avoided.³

In order further to protect the children, and also for the better supervision of Boarding-out Committees, the Local Government Board have had, for some years, a special Lady Inspector of children boarded out under the Boarding-out Order, but this lady

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 202.

² 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 46. These recommendations, which are made in the circular letter which accompanied the issue of the Orders of 1889, are taken from those made by the Poor Law Board in 1870. (See 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 17.)

³ 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 18.

does not inspect children boarded out under the Boarding-out *in Unions* Order.

Where children are boarded-out within the Unions to which they are chargeable, and no Boarding-out Committee is established, the conditions and regulations (5 to 13 inclusive, and 16) set out above apply.

In such cases the Relieving Officer makes the weekly payments to the foster-parents, and must report upon the children to the Guardians at least once a quarter, or oftener if required by them so to do.¹ The Medical Officers of the district in which the children are resident must also visit and report upon them once in each quarter to the Guardians.²

It is evident, then, that everything possible has been done to secure the welfare of boarded-out children, at least where they are boarded out beyond the Unions to which they are chargeable. If any cases of cruelty and neglect have occurred, and such cases are by no means infrequent, it has been owing to the neglect or non-observance of the regulations, and to a disregard of the conditions on which the children are boarded out, and still more to a want of thoroughness in inspection, such as women alone can carry out.

It is doubtless owing to the occurrence of such cases, and also owing to the difficulties attending the compliance with the regulations, that the boarding-out system, in spite of its manifest merits,³ cannot be said to have become popular.⁴ Thus it is by no means easy to find either suitable homes, suitable foster-parents, or suitable persons who will take the trouble to serve on Boarding-out Committees. Still more difficult is it when a Boarding-out Committee has once been formed to keep it going, by supplying the vacancies which occur in it from time to time. Then, again, Boards of Guardians prefer to have the children under their own observation, and, further, do not like being deprived of those children, the *permanent* ones, who do most credit to the education and training which they receive in the schools.

We will deal with all these difficulties in turn.

¹ For the form of the Report see Appendix G, p. 417.

² *Ibid.*, p. 417.

³ *Ante*, p. 181.

⁴ On the 1st January, 1896, no fewer than 33,978 "orphans or other children relieved without their parents" were receiving *indoor* relief, while only 5,905 were boarded-out at that time, either *within* or *without* the Unions to which they were chargeable. (See 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 2.)

(1) *The difficulties connected with compliance with the Regulations.*

(a) BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEES.

The large majority of these Committees have been established under the Boarding-out Orders of 1870 and 1889.¹ "On the 11th February, 1895," Miss Mason tells us,² "there were on the Board's Register, nominally, 155 Committees authorised to board out *beyond* the Unions; but of these nineteen were undoubtedly dead or dying.

"It must be remembered that the 'boarding-out system' is a natural system, which cannot be regulated in the same manner as an institution. A succession of matrons or officers can usually be secured for a fixed institution; but the supply of suitable foster-parents, homes, and supervisors, depends on circumstances quite beyond the power of the Local Government Board or any other authority to control. Country villages, which are the most suitable places for boarding-out, are the most liable to these changes, for the number of houses and residents is most limited. When the persons who have taken an interest in the boarding-out die, or leave the neighbourhood, their places are not always filled, or may be filled by persons who are not interested in the children, or who are not suitable for supervisors. Those who demand that the Local Government Board should enforce the continuance of particular Boarding-out Committees do not see that it would mean that they should supply the tenants of the private houses in these places."³

And Miss Mason recurs to the subject as follows:⁴

"Committees must, in the natural course of things, sometimes die out from local changes beyond the power of the Local Government Board or any other body to control, such as the death or removal of the members, with the impossibility of replacing them by others interested in the work or capable; the cessation of a supply of suitable foster parents; the fluctuations of trade or agriculture; or the growth of large towns. In some cases, for instance, committees have been formed in districts then quite rural, and now become too urban to be suitable. In others a once flourishing trade or occupation has disappeared."

But, in spite of these things, these Committees have largely increased since 1885, when Miss Mason was appointed Inspector. From her Report for 1894, we gather that since she took up the work of inspection no fewer than 105 new Committees had been formed.⁵ But of

¹ On the 1st June, 1896, there were 150 Boarding-out Committees for looking after children boarded-out *without* the Unions to which they are chargeable, and only fifty-eight Committees authorised to supervise children boarded out *within* the Unions to which they are chargeable.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 85.

³ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 84.

⁴ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the whole 155 existing in 1895 only 113 were available; again, of these 113 all were practically full, those which had homes to offer being so few that Guardians did not think it worth while to enter into agreements with them.

Then the Central Authority will not authorise Committees to receive Poor Law children where the areas they cover are too large. On this account the King's Norton Boarding-out Committee has been inhibited since 1888 from taking any more of these children.

Then, if the duties of those who are upon Boarding-out Committees are conscientiously performed, they are by no means light or easy. The visiting of the children, too, must necessarily be done by ladies. This visiting requires the inspection of the bodily condition, underneath the clothes of the children, by which means only can it be discovered how they are treated. "It ought to be observed," Miss Mason says, "that women only can properly investigate the condition of girls, yet it often happens that two or three Guardians, gentlemen, will visit the place for the purpose. It could hardly be believed that in one instance during the past year a committee of gentlemen thus visited a place in order to ascertain for themselves whether my report was accurate as to certain girls, though clean outside, being dirty underneath!"¹

Then the inspection must be thorough, and it is even more important that it should be *of the children* rather than the homes. On this point Miss Mason says:²

"The inspection of foster-homes is too often regarded in the same manner as the inspection of an institution, and attention is directed chiefly to the situation of the cottage and the manner in which it is kept, whether clean, tidy, and comfortable, or otherwise. This is an entirely wrong view of the boarding-out system, the object of which is to graft each child into a respectable family as one of its members. The treatment of the child rather than the condition of the cottage is the point to be ascertained. I have found children really well cared for in a rough and dirty cottage, and others neglected, starved, ill-treated or beaten in one that was beautifully kept and well furnished."

The printed rules which have been adopted by the Clifton Boarding-out Committee for its guidance illustrate the responsibilities which people incur by serving upon such committees; and as they usefully direct attention to the main points which must be observed by

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 201. See also 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 171.

² 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 201.

committees having a deep sense of those responsibilities, we have inserted them in the Appendix.¹

These rules have been adopted by a large number of the Boarding-out Committees, and if they are observed, cases of cruelty and neglect on the part of the foster-parents will be very infrequent.

It is, of course, most important that committees should consist of persons of sufficient social standing to ensure respect and welcome from the foster parents.

"In one case," writes Miss Mason, "in North Lancashire, the foster-parents refused to receive the visits of the Committee, because, I was told, they were all too much of a level; and the same was the case with another Committee in that neighbourhood. In another instance, in Kent, the opposite end of the kingdom, a foster mother told me that she should object to the visits of paltry people, and that there was no real lady in the parish; and she carried out her threatened resistance to the visits of a lady whom she did not think good enough."²

(b) GOOD HOMES AND GOOD FOSTER PARENTS.

Ardent advocates of boarding-out assert that there is no difficulty in finding good foster-parents and homes for the children. The experience of Miss Mason, the inspector of the *without* boarding-out children, has led her to the contrary opinion. She asserts that the supply of good homes is by no means equal to the demand.³ Nor, indeed, can Boarding-out Committees find them. She says:⁴

"I continue to receive many applications from Boards of Guardians for names and addresses of Committees whom I can recommend able to receive children, and have always supplied them with a list of those most likely, giving the preference to new committees, who have, as yet, no children, as offering the first choice of homes; but I have generally found my list quite inadequate. The Guardians also frequently send me the names of Committees to whom they have written on the recommendation of others, and who have replied that they have what are now styled 'Vacancies.' As a rule these Committees are the last I should recommend, either because they have too many children already, or because their work is not satisfactory."

And in a later Report she again returns to the point:⁵

"The supply of satisfactory Committees and homes continues to be quite unequal to the demand. Schools and workhouses, especially those belonging to the Metropolitan area, are much overcrowded, and

¹ See Appendix G, *post*, pp. 417-419.

² 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 177.

³ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 85.

⁴ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 232.

⁵ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 178.

boarding-out has been increasingly resorted to as a means of disposing of the children. I have received so many letters from Boards of Guardians asking me for the names of Committees whom I can recommend able to receive children, that I have been obliged to draft a general letter in answer, and have it copied. I have also drawn up, and had copied for the use of Guardians thus applying to me, a list of such Committees, giving the preference to the most newly formed as offering the first choice of homes. They have been filled so rapidly that each has, as a rule, applications from at least three or four Boards of Guardians, and the list I have to offer is wholly inadequate."

Miss Mason then gives figures to show how all the available Committees are practically full, and "those who have homes to offer have so few that Guardians do not generally think it worth while to enter into an agreement with them." She strengthens the facts she states by extracts from two letters she had received, and says:

"I had written to the secretary of one Committee asking him if he could start any fresh Committees in new neighbourhoods, and he answers, 'Certainly, the supply of *good* homes, under *good* Committees, is quite unequal to the demand (we cannot find enough for Poplar's requirements); and another difficulty, especially for *boys*, is getting them employment, when their boarded-out time is over, in the country districts.' A letter from another Committee to the Local Government Board says, 'Sir,—In answer to your letter received yesterday, I regret to have to say that the — Committee has had no children boarded out under its care for several years. The place is too remote, and the cost of living too great for the success of the experiment here. The cottagers cannot afford to take children at the rate offered, and that makes them backward and unwilling to accept the charge. Moreover, there are not many cottages large enough to accommodate additional inmates. Considering all these points, we think that our name, as a Boarding-out Committee, had better be taken off the Government books, especially as there is no prospect of matters changing.'"¹

Of course, it will be said that the remedy for this is the establishment of more Boarding-out Committees. No doubt if more were formed the number of *suitable* homes would be increased, but it will, of course, be within the knowledge of people who live in the country, and know the poor, how few homes there are in which they would be willing that children should be boarded out. Such people will agree with Miss Mason when she goes on to say:

"I can fully understand how those who do not know the cottages and people from within, and intimately, may think that sufficient good homes for children must surely be found among the many charming looking cottages they pass on the roads; but if they really inquired

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, pp. 85, 86. See also 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 194.

they would not find them as numerous as they suppose. Besides, England is not a new country, and many of its available homes are taken up by the nearly 4000 children boarded out within the Unions, and by the many voluntary societies and persons who board out, such as Dr. Barnardo, Dr. Stephenson, 'Waifs and Strays,' 'Invalid Children,' 'Country Holidays'¹ (of which last there are any number of agencies), 'Children's Aid,' and so on, *ad infinitum*. In some places, owing to these many sources of supply, boarding-out is a regular industry. Good homes are to be found here and there, but seldom in considerable numbers in one place, nor where they are is it desirable to congregate too many boarded-out children together. There are still districts untouched where some may yet be found, but the limit must be reached at some time, and boarding-out must always, of necessity, be supplemented by other systems, both on account of the impossibility of finding enough satisfactory homes for all the pauper children of this country, and because all those pauper children are not fit for boarding-out, and satisfactory foster-parents and Committees will not receive them."²

(c) STRINGENT SUPERVISION.

If boarding-out is to be successful, the regulations and conditions imposed by the Orders must be absolutely complied with. One of the causes of its slow progress is undoubtedly connected with the labour and trouble which the necessary supervision involves.³ It is an excellent system of dealing with Poor Law children, if great care be taken in choosing the homes, and if the supervision be adequate and thorough, but the very worst, irrespective of the choice of home, if the supervision be superficial. For the system will not work of itself. Miss Mason has over and over again shown in her Annual Reports how frequent and even daily visiting may be useless if superficial.

"Indeed," as she says, "it is worse than useless, as it sanctions the proceedings of such foster-parents as, under a fair outside show, are not doing their duty. A good working man's wife, with children of her own, will give a better opinion than any theorists upon the right methods of inspection.

"The object of the boarding-out system is to place children with trustworthy persons, who will bring them up as their own. It is the foster-parents, not the committees, who have the actual care of the children; and the object of the supervision by the committees is, therefore, not so much to look after the children themselves, as to see that the foster-parents are doing so and that they are trustworthy. No amount of supervision can secure affection for the children from

¹ One of the "Country Holidays" Societies alone boarded out in that particular year 28,000 children.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 86; 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 232.

³ See *ante*, p. 193.

their foster-parents, and bodily care which is bestowed upon them only from fear of censure, or under threat of their removal, is worth little. It is only by a thorough examination from time to time that it can be ascertained with certainty whether the foster-parents are conscientious and really fond of the children."¹

In a later Report² Miss Mason says she cannot too often nor too strongly repeat what she had already said in former Reports.

"Persons living on the spot and seeing the children every day, may yet have no idea of the treatment if they do not by partly undressing them from time to time, and by surprise visits, ascertain their bodily condition. I do not myself completely undress each child as does the lady who inspects for Dr. Barnardo, although I think her precautions are on the safe side, because dirt and neglect do not so much show where the body is well protected by the clothing. The feet are a better guide than anything else to the treatment of a child, for it is in the hollows of the ankles that strata of dirt accumulate most visibly, and having now seen some thousands of children's feet, I am generally able, by taking off one stocking, to tell the date of the last bath to a week, if it is only weeks since. There is very little visible difference between dirt of some months and a year's standing. The human skin cannot retain strata of more than a certain thickness. The removal of a stocking also often reveals broken chilblains, blisters, and sores, nails uncut, and broken below the quick, or growing into the foot. The neck, shoulders, and upper part of the arms also show dirt, bites and marks of vermin, skin complaints and blows. Beating is generally begun on the upper part of the arms. I sometimes find bruises there, evidently made by sticks, and where this is the case I undress the child as much further as necessary. I have thus now and then found a child covered with bruises.

"An examination underneath also shows whether the underclothing is sufficient, and the linen and stockings clean, and in good repair. All tidy labouring people change and mend their children's linen weekly, but many of them disregard the washing of their bodies after they are quite young. Taking this into consideration, if I find a child clean I always report the fact to the foster-parents' credit, whereas I do not report dirt of months' standing if the case is otherwise satisfactory, and there is no other trace of neglect and ill-treatment, and if I can get the matter set straight by pointing it out to the committee. Whenever my reports are silent on this point, it is not because I have not investigated and do not know the facts, or that I do not consider them of importance, but because I draw a distinction between the dirt of mere ignorant custom and that of wilful neglect. It cannot therefore be said that I am unduly severe towards the foster-parents, or that I do not make allowance for the habits of labouring people.

"The choice of a home is no doubt a matter of the highest importance. An improper selection is inexcusable, as showing either a want of care or of judgment. But selection is not the only thing necessary; supervision should come afterwards, and it is neither safe nor right to

¹ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 198.

² 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 195.

trust to even the best selected foster-parents. As I have pointed out, continual or daily visiting may reveal nothing of the true condition of things. The Denmead Committee were living unsuspectedly among a number of children covered with itch and body lice, seeing them daily at the school, and one of the Committee was walking hand-in-hand with one of the worst cases on the day before my visit and its revelations. There may even be too much supervision and visiting; continual interference in detail only tends to shift the responsibility from the foster-parents who have the actual care of the children to the committee, whose duty it is to see and ascertain that the foster-parents are treating them properly. A thorough examination from time to time of the children's bodily condition is the only way to know this for certain. Quality, not quantity, is to be desired in supervision.

"Some children whom I inspected during the past year were visited and reported upon quarterly by a doctor, who had only looked at their faces. I found some of them neglected and affected with purpura, and I showed them to the doctor, who declared that he would never henceforward report upon a boarded-out child without undressing it from head to foot."

Probably no Boarding-out Committee has done better work than that established by Miss Preusser. After the lamented death of this lady, to whose efforts boarding-out *without* Unions is attributable, the Windermere Committee did their best to carry on the work in the same way as before, so as to make her loss felt as little as possible.

"But here," writes Miss Mason, "was one of the worst possible instances that could be given of what I am so constantly insisting on, that no amount of care, activity, and devotion, or the most careful selection of homes, can enable a Committee safely to dispense with that personal inspection of the children which alone can prove their treatment. On my first inspection here I had taken one of the ladies with me to show her my methods of inspection of the children, and I believed that they would have been followed, but it was not so; and, therefore, in spite of the vigilance of the Committee in other respects, I found here at least two cases where the foster-parents had grossly deceived them, one of these cases being that of one of the best known and longest trusted foster-parents—a woman who had brought up a succession of foster-children—and those I found with her formerly having been well cared for."¹

It is quite impossible to mention here all the cases of cruelty and neglect which have been brought to the public notice, and which are mainly owing to the want of thorough supervision and inspection, but we will give a few typical instances.²

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 81.

² We will refer those who are anxious to see what boarding out may come to in a single Union, if not properly supervised, to Mr. Andrew Doyle's Report upon it

1. Four children who had left the Thame Union Workhouse in perfect health were found to have been sleeping in one bed, which was spotted with blood from their sores, as they were suffering from a well-known cutaneous disease.¹

2. A girl of twelve years old was found to have been in the habit of sleeping in her foster-mother's cottage in the same room with three men.²

3. Two men were found to be lodging in one house containing only two small bedrooms, and where both a girl and boy were boarded out with a widow and daughter; and, in addition to this, a son and his wife and three children were staying there on a visit. The foster-mother told Miss Mason an untruth about the sleeping arrangements; it was difficult to say how many persons altogether slept in the house. But the boarded-out children slept on "make-ups" in the foster-parent's room, the boys being on the floor.³

4. A girl of about four years old had been placed with a small farmer and his wife, who applied for her, apparently not for the sake of profit, but as a companion to their only child, a girl of about the same age. Not only was the home clean and comfortable, and quite superior to an ordinary cottage, but the foster-parents were regarded as the models of the parish. The foster-father was in the church choir, a regular church-goer and communicant, and the clergyman himself said to Miss Mason, "I regarded him as a brother." Nothing had ever been said against the foster-parents by anyone, nor, beyond the ill-treatment of the boarded-out child, has anything been said against them since. No one could have apparently been more worthy of trust, and no home could have been better selected. Yet these persons beat and knocked this child about till her screams one day attracted the notice of the neighbours, and she was found a mass of bruises, tied to the bedposts by her thumbs, which had been cut through by her struggles. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children heard of the case, took it up, and both the foster-parents were convicted and imprisoned. The surprise of the Boarding-out Committee who had trusted to the good reputation of the foster-parents can be imagined, and Miss Mason quotes it and

as carried out in the Swansea Union during the years preceding 1875 (see 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 171). Mr. Doyle said that he had never heard a single objection to the system of boarding out which he did not find illustrated in that Union (*ibid.*, p. 172).

¹ 1 *L. G. B.*, p. 226.

² 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 282. In one case mentioned by Mr. Wodehouse as having occurred in the Caistor Union, the lodger was convicted and sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for an attempt to rape a boarded-out child. 22 *P. L. B.*, p. 133.

³ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 79.

many other similar cases as showing how necessary it is for visitors to undress the children. In this case the body of the child under her clothes was found to be "covered with weals and marks of ill-usage of various dates, which gave evidence that she must have been ill-treated not once but continuously."¹

5. A boy, L—, was boarded with a "cowkeeper" and his wife, with three boys and two girls of their own, all under eleven. Two boys from Dr. Barnardo's Homes were also placed there. The house was large, but the foster-parents had only recently moved into it, and had furnished only two bedrooms; the five boys were sleeping in one room, large and airy, but three of them (one of them was L—) slept in one bed. On Miss Mason examining their bodies at the request of the Committee, they were found to be covered with itch and body-lice in various degrees. One of Dr. Barnardo's boys had the complaint slightly, the other was a mass of sores. The foster-mother had evidently more children under her care than she could attend to properly; and while having her own children attended by the doctor, she had concealed the complaints of her foster-children.²

If the Clifton Rules³ are complied with, it would be almost impossible for cases of ill-treatment to escape detection. It is useless, of course, to question the children themselves on the subject, taking their opinion of their homes and treatment, and consulting them as to whether they wish to be removed or not.

"If a child is treated with affection and as a member of the family, it is a great pity to disturb this state of things by questions suggesting mistrust of those who have taken the place of its parents, or by reminding it of the workhouse, much better forgotten; and if the child is ill-treated, it is almost always afraid to say so."⁴

Men are not suitable visitors. In 1885 Miss Mason found that "some Committees were formed wholly or chiefly of gentlemen, who cannot properly make the thorough investigations into matters of health,

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, pp. 197, 198. For similar instances see 23 *L. G. B.*, pp. 171-173. The well-known Hockley case (22 *L. G. B.*, pp. 117-120) affords a striking instance of the necessity of examining the bodies of the children. A short account of it will be found on pp. 367, 368, *post*.

² This was one of the well-known "Denmead" cases. For Miss Mason's Report upon this and other similar cases under the supervision of the Denmead Committee, see 17 *L. G. B.*, pp. 104-107.

³ See *ante*, p. 193, and Appendix G, pp. 417-419.

⁴ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 202. Instances of the uselessness of trying to get at facts by questioning the children themselves are given in this Report and in 17 *L. G. B.*, p. 112.

cleanliness, and clothing, which only a woman can."¹ Some years later she reverts to this subject as follows:²

"I must again draw attention to the uselessness of visits made by men. During the past year the children from certain Unions have been visited by men Guardians with, I am sure, the very best and kindest intentions, but the result has been only productive of harm, because, to speak quite plainly, men cannot turn up girls' petticoats, take off their stockings, and look at their shoulders, etc., and without this kind of inspection it is, as I have said, impossible to ascertain the real facts as to the children's treatment, and it is only guess-work. The guess may be right, but there is no means of proving that it is so. Where these gentlemen have merely paid a friendly visit, without reporting, the effect has been only good, and I am glad that the children should have the feeling that they are not forgotten, and that their friends take the trouble of a journey on purpose to see them. But when the visit is intended as an *inspection*, and the Guardians have reported to their Board on what is *impression*, not *fact*, and *guess* without *proof*, the result has been most mischievous. I have come upon cases of ill-treatment which Guardians had previously reported as satisfactory, and the Committee have answered me that if the Guardians were satisfied they did not see what more was required, and that they did not feel bound to make any more investigations than were necessary thus to satisfy them.

"In one such case I found a child grossly ill-treated and neglected. The Guardians had visited him among the rest not very long ago, and reported that they could not sufficiently express their admiration of the boarding-out by this Committee. The Committee urged this in justification of the abuses which I found.

"I know how difficult it must be for those living on the spot to believe that cottagers whom they have long known, and whom they trust, may deceive them. Those who are the most trusted and left to themselves, are thereby exposed to the greatest temptations; and for this reason my experience has been that those foster-parents who have been in the domestic service of the members of the Committee are often among the least satisfactory. I also know how difficult it must be for Guardians, who have never seen the condition of a neglected or ill-treated child, to realise that these facts may exist under a clean, tidy frock or suit, a rosy smiling face, and in a clean comfortable cottage, when they are cheerfully received by a pleasant-mannered and respectable woman.

"On one occasion, after I had reported two children as not clean, a Guardian, a gentleman, went down to the country to inquire. He reported 'that the children (one of whom was a girl) now have a bath every Saturday, and were quite clean when I saw them.' Now may I ask upon what was this statement founded? It must either have been upon the evidence of his own eyes, or upon someone else's authority. If upon the evidence of his own eyes he must have undressed the girl as I did, in order to discover the facts of which the

¹ 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 60.

² 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 166.

Committee, seeing her constantly, were ignorant ; and I cannot believe that he did this : or he must have received his information from the Committee, the foster-parents, or the children. As I have so often urged, it is worse than useless to question children, and if he questioned the Committee and foster-parents, he might as well have done so by post, and saved himself the trouble of the journey. I can scarcely think that the Local Government Board or the Guardians would be satisfied with my own reports if my information were gained in this manner. Indeed, this method of inspection adds nothing to the periodical reports already received from the Committees. Yet this gentleman's report was well written, and bore every mark of sincerity, interest, and painstaking ; and he had evidently no idea that he had not seen everything there was to see. Only 'seeing is believing,' and nothing else ever opens the eyes of those who in all good faith imagine they are inspecting."

Miss Mason tells us that she has sometimes been told by Committees that it is difficult for persons living on the spot to make the examinations which she insists upon as necessary if abuses are to be prevented, without offending the foster-parents. But she says:¹

"I find that the foster-parents understand the responsibility of the Committee, when explained to them, too thoroughly to take offence, and even expect such examinations. They frequently offer to undress the children altogether. There is no difficulty where the foster-parents are made to understand that these are the conditions on which the children are sent to them. They need not take them if they do not wish it."

Miss Mason then goes on to show how almost invariable is the welcome given by foster-parents to inspection when there is nothing to conceal.²

Visits should in no case be notified to the foster-parents beforehand. They should always be surprise visits. Miss Mason lays great stress on the necessity of this.

"In some instances where Guardians have visited the children and homes, they have given previous notice to the Boarding-out Committees, and these committees have in their turn given previous notice to the foster-parents. I have heard it assigned as a reason for so doing that it was to ensure the Guardians finding the foster-parents at home. But this can be scarcely necessary, for I find the foster-parents out comparatively seldom ; and even if it were otherwise, previous notice entirely destroys the value of a visit of inspection. In one place, for instance, where a party of Guardians had thus visited by notice, the foster-mothers gave me an amusingly *naïve* account of it. Some of them said that the gentlemen were so pleased with the appearance of the children at school that they had not thought it

¹ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.* See also 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 87.

necessary to visit the home; 'and I *was* sorry, for I had made the house so nice—not like you see it now.' One woman said that only two of the gentlemen had got out of the carriage containing the party which stopped at her door, and that they were so pleased with the room downstairs that they did not want to see the bedrooms; 'but I made them come up, for I did not want the trouble of having made the beds, and all for nothing.' Others, who lived at some distance from the village, expressed their disappointment that 'the gentlemen did not come so far as this, for I waited in all day for them, and had everything ready, and the children's clothes laid out so nice on the bed.'¹

We ask, with Miss Mason, what possible information can be gained from inspection such as this?

Visits of inspection by committees or deputations, instead of by one person alone, are considered by Miss Mason objectionable for three reasons:

1. They advertise the pauperism of the children;
2. They destroy the possibility of surprise visits; and
3. An intimate knowledge of the foster-parents cannot be gained.

"1. The sentimentalism which sometimes describes boarded-out children as so severed from pauper associations that the neighbours do not know them to be boarded-out is, no doubt, a ridiculous exaggeration. In a country place everyone knows the facts, and no one thinks the worse of the children because they are boarded-out from the Union. But the Local Government Board are certainly right in pointing out, as they do, that these visits of a committee of Guardians must tend to perpetuate the connection of the children with their pauper associations. Indeed, it is an actual advertisement of the children's pauperism. The arrival of a party of strangers—especially of gentlemen, usually in a carriage—causes quite a commotion in a quiet place.

"2. This commotion defeats the object of inspection, for the news spreads so quickly that in a very short time every house is prepared and set right, and the children made neat for the occasion.

"3. It is not easy, if possible, for a party, especially if accompanied by the members of the local Boarding-out Committee, to get to know the foster-parents and gain their confidence in the way which an individual visiting them alone can. For these reasons, I make my own inspection in the quietest manner possible, walking whenever the place is within walking distance. If not, I either send my conveyance back before I enter the village, or if I have to keep it there, put it up at once outside the place wherever possible, and make my inspections on foot. If my driver knows my name or occupation, I give him strict orders not to mention them. My conveyance is usually a dog-cart, or a humble pony-cart driven by a boy.

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 201.

"I do not invite the members of the committee to visit the homes and foster-parents with me, for I find that the foster-parents are reserved in their presence, and I cannot get to know them well. The same objection does not apply to my taking the members of the committee with me to see the children, who are usually away from their foster-parents at school; for real inspection of the children consists in seeing their bodily condition, not in asking them questions—a practice which is not only useless, but highly objectionable, as a rule. And although (as I have said) I am only too glad, whenever it can be conveniently arranged, to take one of the Guardians with me on an inspection, neither I myself or the foster-parents are fully at ease in the presence of a third person, and I should always decline to take more than one at a time with me. I have on one or two occasions been accompanied both by a Guardian and one of the Boarding-out Committee, and have found that the three objections I have pointed out to inspection by a party, applied to these visits by as many as three persons together."¹

The entire value of a visit of inspection depends upon whether it is really one of surprise. Miss Mason's experience is that a few minutes are enough "to enable the foster-mothers to put good blankets and clean sheets on the children's beds. A little longer notice will allow them (according to what they themselves have told me) to borrow clothing belonging to their neighbours' children to show; and when the number of children in one place has been too great for my inspection to be finished in one day, and my presence has then become known, I have sometimes on the next day found the rest of the children newly washed and dressed in good clothes, and the houses scrubbed and set in order for me. Foster-parents who have themselves received a surprise visit are jealously and justly anxious that their neighbours should also be surprised. In one case I found two boys evidently neglected and literally covered with flea-bites, their linen being marked all over. Their foster-parents cleaned them in consequence of the discovery, and when I re-examined them a week afterwards there was not a trace of the fleas left. In some instances the Guardians, after receiving the copies of my reports, have visited the spot in order to make further inquiries. This seems to me the right course, and, personally, I should be glad if it were always adopted. Yet it should be observed that such visits cannot be of real surprise, for the effect of the previous visit of the inspector, even if some time ago, is always to set things to rights to some degree if not altogether. In other cases the Guardians have sent for the foster-parents and children for examination. I am surprised that any value should be attached to such a method of inspection when the house

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 302.

is not only not seen, but the foster-parents are able to wash and dress the children beforehand, and prime them as to what to say, and, if sufficient time is allowed, to feed them up."¹

(2) *The Objections of Guardians.*

Boards of Guardians being responsible for the care and control of the children who come into their hands are naturally very jealous of divesting themselves of their duties and responsibilities in the matter; and again, inasmuch as only the *pick* of the children can be boarded out, and as, if these are removed, the Guardians are left with the most difficult children to manage, they are by no means eager to hand over the children to the care of Boarding-out Committees. Besides which, if they are inclined to boarding-out, they prefer to do it in their own way under the Boarding-out in Unions Order and without the intervention of Committees. But in adopting this latter course they are, in our opinion, not acting wisely, for the reasons which we will give hereafter.²

(a) THE LOSS OF THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE CHILDREN.

Where the Guardians have the direct control of the children in their own schools, and they find out that they are being badly treated or neglected, they can put a stop to the mischief at once. They can, however, never be certain that their boarded-out children are being properly cared for. Every now and then cases of neglect or cruelty are brought to their notice, and sometimes the children have to be returned to them, and we therefore cannot be surprised that they should not be very keen on parting with their children. They are aware, too, how successful the education and training which the children receive in their schools has been, and how few of those who have been sent out into the world come back to the workhouse. They are, therefore, naturally very loth to abandon systems which they know to work well.

(b) THE TAKING AWAY OF THE BEST CHILDREN, AND SO AFFECTING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE SCHOOLS.

It cannot be too often impressed upon the minds of those who take an interest in the subject that only *orphan* and *deserted* children can be boarded out.³ Still, as a very large number of *indoor* pauper children

¹ 17 *L. G. B.*, p. 112.

² See *post*, p. 229 *et seq.*

³ For the definitions of "*orphan*" and "*deserted*," see *ante*, p. 185.

permanently under the care and control of Boards of Guardians belong to this class, it will at once be seen how greatly their removal from the schools may affect the efficiency of these institutions. This objection to boarding-out was raised at a very early period.

Thus Mr. Bowyer, in 1870, wrote as follows :

"The universal opinion of those best acquainted with the subject is, that orphan and deserted children are those who encounter least moral deterioration from their stay in the workhouse, and who turn out best when they leave it, and the reason for their superiority is precisely that they *are* orphans and deserted."¹

Mr. Carleton Tufnell took the same view. He said :²

"The boarding-out plan takes all these children out of the school, and leaves those only whom it is most difficult to teach and train. The pupils who would do most credit to a school, whose superior conduct, intelligence, and consequent ready response to the efforts made to instruct them is the chief delight to a conscientious teacher in the arduous and monotonous work of his office, are all removed, and he is left with a *caput mortuum* of the most dull, the most irregular, and the most impracticable of his pupils. What good teacher could endure to live in a school in which the rule was that every promising child was to be instantly taken away. Would he not throw up his office in despair ?

"There are some Unions in my district in which the boarding-out plan has been introduced, and I find on visiting the workhouse schools, whence the boarded-out children have been removed, which usually contains two-thirds of all the pauper children, that all the results which might have been anticipated have occurred. The schools are so bad that in some cases the instruction really amounts to nothing. All the best children, who formerly gave a tone to the school, set an example to the rest, and as monitors or otherwise were of the greatest assistance to the teacher, are gone."³

Mr. T. B. Browne also testified to the fact of boarding-out affecting workhouse schools materially.

"Good schools in the Clutton Workhouse have been broken up in consequence of the adoption of this arrangement ; the Northwich school and the girls' school at Taunton have suffered greatly, and the Exeter school has also suffered to some extent. Orphans and deserted children, as the most regular long timers, are the backbone of a school, and its character must inevitably decline if they are withdrawn."⁴

Mrs. Nassau Senior was able to answer these objections so far as they regarded large schools. But then she did not advocate the boarding-

¹ 22 *P. L. B.*, p. 126. Mr. Wodehouse was of the same opinion. (See 22 *P. L. B.*, pp. 133, 134.)

² 23 *P. L. B.*, pp. 207, 208.

³ See further 2 *L. G. B.*, pp. 82, 83.

⁴ 23 *P. L. B.*, p. 236.

out of deserted children, as the following extract from her well-known Report of 1874 shows:¹

"Another and, I think, the chief reason why boarding-out meets with opposition is that the superior officers of the schools are opposed to it, and their opinion has, and ought to have to a certain extent, weight with the Guardians. As the schools are at present constituted this opposition has some plausible ground. The officials reckon on the permanent children to keep the casuals in order, and they believe that their already difficult task would become impossible if these children were removed from the schools, and boarding-out were more generally adopted. They know that the only class of children whom it would be possible thus to place are those now reckoned as 'permanents,' and they very naturally feel that it would be hard on them to take away the only children who can show a fair result of their labour.

"The inspectors feel the same. They say that the principle of boarding-out, by withdrawing the best element from the schools, necessarily consigns to ruin and pauperism one half of the children. If this was really the case I should be of their opinion, and would oppose the principle as heartily as I now further it. But even with the present classification of the schools, the withdrawal of the orphans would not take away the permanent element. *The deserted children would be continuously in the schools;*² so would the children who now appear in returns as 'casual,' but who cannot fairly be so classed because, though neither orphans nor deserted, they yet are liable to no absences with vagrant parents, being children whose mothers are permitted to leave the workhouse and earn their living (though unable to support their children), and those children, also, whose parent or parents are incurably ill in infirmary or asylum. And if, as I really desire, the real casual class were taken out of all the schools and educated in schools expressly set apart for them, I think that the objections of both school officers and inspectors to boarding-out the orphans would cease. There would be none but permanent children in the ordinary schools, and I believe there would be but little opposition to the orphans being placed in families."

We have pointed out that Mrs. Nassau Senior's arguments were only an answer to the objections raised by the inspectors so far as regarded large schools,³ and further, that she only advocated the boarding-out of orphan children. Her answer does not touch the question as to how far the boarding-out of orphan and deserted children might affect the ordinary workhouse schools. That it must have injuriously affected

¹ 3 L. G. B., pp. 344, 345.

² The italics are our own.

³ It must always be remembered that the Report of Mrs. Nassau Senior was limited to the question as to how far the Metropolitan schools were successful in the education and training of girls; and Mr. Wyndham Holgate gives an instance where one of these schools (Anerley) was very injuriously affected by the withdrawal of their permanent children. See 11 L. G. B., p. 132.

them is quite clear. But since these early Reports of the i :t
the difficulty has solved itself to some extent by the Guard : s o
country Unions adopting almost universally the practice of li
the workhouse children to the public elementary schools. t
means they not only preserve the direct control of the children, l
they are able to surmount the difficulty of finding suitable ucl s
when the "permanent" children are removed from the workh 1
Still, there is always the risk that less interest may be taken in the
children who remain in the workhouse, and that they may be left
to the care of paupers there; which should, of course, never be
allowed.

¹ As showing how real a difficulty this was, see 22 *P. L. B.*, pp. 126, 127, 134.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM

(Continued.)

(1) THE SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM.

WE have in the last chapter pointed out the special advantages which the boarding-out system offers.¹ Where the regulations and conditions of the Local Government Board are complied with, and where the inspection is thoroughly carried out by ladies, cases of cruelty or neglect are very unlikely to happen. In 1886, after the appointment of Miss Mason as Inspector of boarded-out (*beyond* Unions) children, the Board reported that although there had been some instances in which her reports were unfavourable as regards the children and their homes, the evidence that had been collected with respect to the children generally, the interest taken in their welfare by the members of the Boarding-out Committees, and the warm feeling entertained by the foster-parents for them, appeared to furnish satisfactory proof of the successful working of the system.² Finally, Miss Mason, whose experience on boarding-out is unique, considers the system as incomparably the best of all systems, no other offering the same advantages. At the same time she remarks that no other is open to the same abuse in the form of patronage, favouritism, and local influence and interests.³

The success of any system must, however, in the end, be judged by results, and it is remarkable that, if boarding-out is to be measured by this standard, it does not seem to produce any better results than other systems. This is the more remarkable, because it gets the *pick* of the Poor Law children. They are all selected cases.

"Not only must they be practically orphans, or deserted, and therefore under the complete control of the Guardians and Boarding-out Committees, but the agreement between the Guardians and Committees expressly provides for the return to the Guardians of any child found by the Committee to be of incorrigible and confirmed bad habits, or suffering from any incurable disease, or from lunacy, at any time after

¹ *Ante*, p. 181.

² 15 *L. G. B.*, p. xxxvi.

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 232.

being boarded out. A considerable number of children are actually thus returned upon the Guardians' hands. The workhouse or schools are thus not only compelled to take charge without any selection of every kind of case, some of them hopeless from the first, but also to undertake the failures of the boarding-out system."¹

"Boarded-out children belong to the class which among pauper children is usually considered the most easy to deal with. It would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of pains and kindness bestowed upon their former *protégés* by members of the Boarding-out Committee. Places are sought for them again and again; charitable agencies of every kind, training schools, hospitals, homes, etc., are made use of in their favour; money is not grudged, and their lot, as compared with the prospects of the workhouse-bred child, should be fortunate indeed. Yet the latter has stood the severe test of investigation better than the more favoured class."²

The instance of Scotland is always adduced in favour of boarding-out, but the decrease of pauperism in that country is no more remarkable than the decrease in England and Wales.³

In the following statistics lunatics and vagrants are excluded, and the Scotch term "ordinary poor" is used to describe the other classes of paupers; and it will be seen that since 1871 the pauperism of the northern counties of England has decreased to a larger extent than in Scotland.

England and Wales.			Counties north of the Humber, Northumberland, Durham, York, Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmoreland.		Scotland.	
Year.	Mean number of "Ordinary Poor" relieved during years ended Lady Day.	Ratio per 1000 of population.	Mean number of "Ordinary Poor" relieved during years ended Lady Day.	Ratio per 1000 of population.	Number of "Ordinary Poor" relieved on 14th May.	Ratio per 1000 of population.
1868	934,452	43·1	* 195,276	35	130,441	40
1871	983,922	43·7	† 248,321	37	122,909	37
1876	691,355	28·8	‡ 168,686	25	95,632	27
1881	721,612	28·1	‡ 172,919	21	93,958	25
1886	706,447	26·0	‡ 178,851	22	88,070	23
1891	678,830	23·6	150,014	16	80,454	20
1895	705,967	23·5	162,588	17	84,317	20

* Census of 1861.

† Census of 1871.

‡ Census of 1881.

¹ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 123.

² 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 145. See also 25, *L. G. B.*, p. 239.

³ When it is remembered that Scotland has the advantage of having had no real Poor Law till 1845, and of recognizing no right of State relief to the able-bodied, the figures tell in favour of the English system, especially when the pauperism of Scotland is compared with that of England north of the Humber, the characteristics of the two peoples becoming the more similar the nearer the Border is approached.

We believe that it is still the fact that no accurate inquiry has yet been made into the after lives of the children boarded-out in Scotland. Mr. Murray Browne, writing in 1887, says:¹

"None such is mentioned in Mr. Skelton's *Boarding-out in Scotland* (Blackwood, 1876). The solitary exception (and it is an important one) is given in a pamphlet entitled *Reports on the Boarding-out of Orphan and Deserted Children belonging to the City Parish, Glasgow* (Anderson, Glasgow, 1872). It therein appears that out of 900 boarded-out children belonging to the parish in question, who had been sent to service, etc., ten per cent. (approximately) had died or been lost sight of, about five per cent. had failed, and the remaining eighty-five per cent. were known to be doing well, their several occupations being stated. This is no doubt satisfactory, but it is to be observed that the percentage of success is almost exactly the same as shown among the workhouse-bred children mentioned in this Report" (i.e., Mr. Murray Browne's Report).² "The Glasgow figures are based upon information given by the official employed by the parish authorities to superintend boarded-out children."

As to the results of boarding-out in England, Mr. Hagger, the Clerk to the Select Vestry of Liverpool, made an interesting return of children boarded-out from the Parish of Liverpool from the 20th April, 1871, to October 11th, 1883.

		GIRLS.		BOYS.
Number of children boarded-out		188	...	27
Returned to Industrial Schools	{ for misconduct	2	{	1
	{ through ill-health	7	{ 10	3
	{ other causes	1	{	2
Placed in service and doing	{ satisfactorily	42	{	6
	{ fairly satisfactorily	1	{ 46	6
	{ unsatisfactorily	*3	{	—
Removed by or given up to friends		23	...	3
Married		1	{	—
Died		3	{ 4	—
Adopted by foster-parents and known to be going on satisfactorily		—	12	1
Remaining in Homes		—	93	14
Totals		188	...	27

* One of these girls was then in the school, one in the Royal Infirmary, and one in the Home for Servants.

According, then, to this Return, thirteen out of ninety-five girls, and three out of thirteen boys, must be put down as failures.³

Mr. Hagger gave still more interesting Returns in 1887. They showed what had happened (as far as could be ascertained) to the children sent out from the Kirkdale Schools during the three years pre-

¹ 6 L. G. B., p. 40.

² Mr. Murray Browne's statistics showed that out of thirty-eight children educated in four workhouses, 5'26 only had turned out badly, while out of 177 children educated in thirteen workhouses, only 5'65 per cent. had turned out badly. (6 L. G. B., pp. 38, 39.)

³ 13 L. G. B., p. xlvii.

ceding September 1st, 1886 (it being of course understood that this was a very much smaller number than those who had *left* the schools during the same period), and also what had happened to the children boarded-out by the Select Vestry from the 29th April, 1871 (when the Guardians first adopted the system), down to the end of August, 1886.¹

Return relating to children sent from the Kirkdale Industrial Schools to service between the 1st September, 1883, and the 31st August, 1886.

	GIRLS.		BOYS.	
Number of children sent to service	—	96	—	109
(28 of the girls and 19 of the boys returned to the school for various causes, and were provided with other situations.)				
There are now in situations to which they were sent from the schools :				
Whose conduct is satisfactory	50	...	63	64
„ fairly satisfactory	10	60	1	
„ unsatisfactory	—	—	—	
Procured other situations for themselves and				
Known to be doing satisfactorily	5	6	—	1
Present address unknown	1	—	1	
Removed by or returned to friends	11	—	14	23
Left situations without notice, address unknown	7	20	9	
Returned to workhouse for				
Alleged misconduct	1	—	—	21
Physical causes	1	—	—	
Returned to Industrial Schools				
As simply unsuitable	8	—	16	21
For physical causes	—	10	2	
Died	1	—	2	3
Employers left the address, child lost sight of	1	—	3	
Totals	96	...	109	

Return relating to children boarded out from the Parish of Liverpool from the 29th April, 1871, to 31st August, 1886.

	GIRLS.		BOYS.	
Number of children boarded-out	—	249	—	51
Returned to Industrial Schools { For misconduct	6	...	3	8
Through ill-health	3	17	1	
Other causes	8	—	4	
Placed in service and doing { Satisfactorily	46	...	7	8
Fairly satisfactorily	4	52	1	
Unsatisfactorily	2	—	—	8
Lost sight of { Removed by friends	33	...	7	
„ under order to other Unions	2	39	1	
Emigrated	4	—	—	2
Married	3	—	—	
Died	3	—	1	2
Adopted by foster-parents and known to be going on satisfactorily	21	29	1	
Non-resident relief; permanent disability	1	—	—	25
Placed in a "Training Home"	1	—	—	
Turned out badly*	2	112	—	25
Remaining in Homes	110	—	25	
Totals	249	...	51	

* One girl formerly classed under this head has now been in a situation for twelve months, and is giving every satisfaction, so she is now classified amongst those who are in service and doing satisfactorily.

¹ These Returns are quoted by Mr. Mozley in his Report for 1887. See 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 99.

The above figures may be twisted and turned in any number of ways, but the broad fact remains that out of 205 children educated in the schools only 28 children (10 girls and 18 boys) had returned to the workhouse or schools for the causes specified in the Return after being sent out, while out of 165 children (139 girls and 26 boys) who had been boarded-out, 29 children (21 girls and 8 boys) had been returned to the schools for various causes, or were doing unsatisfactorily or badly. The figures do not, therefore, show favourably for boarding-out, as against the system of education given in Poor Law Schools, now much decried.

In 1882 Mr. Murray Browne gave figures to show how, out of 44 children (16 boys and 28 girls) boarded-out, into whose after lives he had inquired, 5 were failures (1 boy and 4 girls), or 14.2 per cent., while out of 167 children (91 boys and 76 girls) educated in workhouse schools, only 10 were failures (2 boys and 8 girls), or 11.3 per cent.¹ And he says:

"I am unable to perceive any reason which should invalidate the substantial fairness of this comparison between the boarded-out and the workhouse-bred children. Both sets of children are somewhere about the same general age; both were fairly selected, and in both cases the inquiries were carefully made upon the same general principles. I do not think that I have been hard upon the boarded-out children. Such was not certainly my intention, and it does not appear to me that it is the fact. In the course of my inquiry I have come in contact with not a few mistresses of households who have complained bitterly of the boarded-out girls, then or lately in their service. Had I thought it worth while to collect their complaints I might easily have compiled a series of charges as formidable in appearance as those which others have accumulated against children from pauper schools. But I have disregarded all their statements as compared with definite facts, and have entered on the favourable side of the account all children against whom no certain and serious misconduct could be alleged, and who were self-supporting. Undoubtedly many of the boarded-out children are doing extremely well, and appear to conduct themselves in a manner which is highly satisfactory; but I am bound to say that, as a rule, they did not impress me in any respect more favourably than the workhouse-bred children whose histories I investigated some years ago. This, however, is a matter of general impression upon which I am not disposed to lay much stress. I prefer to rest upon the facts, which speak for themselves."²

Mr. Murray Browne, however, does not attach much importance to the comparatively small difference of percentage by which the workhouse children have the advantage over those boarded-out. He continues:

¹ 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 144.

² *Ibid.*

"It is sufficient to say that the results of the workhouse education have been proved, on the most important point of all, to be at least equal to those which the boarding-out system in England has hitherto produced. Both modes of education show good results. But that which is unpopular and decried stands the better trial of the two. That such should be the case may seem to some persons very strange. It will not seem strange to those who believe with me that workhouse education when fairly administered is thoroughly sound and good, and is therefore likely to be as successful as any other."¹

But probably the most complete statistics as to "results" have been given by Miss Mason. Having obtained from the clerk to every Board of Guardians, which had at any time boarded-out beyond the Union, as complete returns as possible of the whole number of children who had been boarded-out from the beginning, and the number of children who had returned to the workhouse or schools both before and after ceasing to be chargeable, with the causes of returning, she summarised the information in the evidence she gave before the Poor Law Schools Committee. She states it to be "the most complete, and, indeed, the only existing general history of the actual facts as to the results of the boarding-out from each and every Union from the first."²

In these statistics³ the causes why the children are returned to their Union are stated. We cannot, however, do more here than give the number of the children boarded-out, and the numbers returned to the Unions, with the names of the various Unions.

Union.	Year of commencing Boarding-out.	Total number of Children Boarded-out.	Returned to Union.
LONDON :—			
Bethnal Green . . .	1871 ...	?	27
Camberwell . . .	1893 ...	7	—
Chelsea . . .	1890 ...	16	1
St. George's . . .	1870 ...	273	62
Hackney . . .	1894 ...	9	—
Hampstead . . .	1877 ...	35	3
Holborn . . .	1884 ...	141	?
Islington . . .	1889 ...	111	13
Kensington ⁴ . . .	No answer.		
Lambeth . . .	1882 ...	127	23
City of London . . .	1889 ...	38	6
St. Marylebone . . .	1885 ...	37	9
Paddington ⁵ . . .	1881 ...	138	5

¹ 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 145.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 83.

³ See Volume of Evidence, pp. 581–586.

⁴ Kensington has for some years ceased to board out.

⁵ The success of boarding-out in Paddington is to be attributed entirely to the extra care which is taken that the regulations and conditions of boarding-out are

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Union.	Year of commencing Boarding-out.	Total number of Children Boarded-out.	Returned to Union.
LONDON (continued):—			
St. Pancras	1882	334	50
Poplar	1871	117	27
St. Saviour's	1891	84	11
Shoreditch	1883	40	12
Wandsworth	1876	239	36
Whitechapel	1876	122	27
Woolwich	1890	19	1
PROVINCES:—			
Aston	?	?	?
Barton Regis	1890	45	5
Birmingham	This Board ceased to Board-out some 17 years ago.		
Bristol	1871	135	14
Burton-upon-Trent	1890	70	4
Cambridge	Since 1888	24	2
Carlisle	1885	8	—
Chorlton	About 1870	62	4
Coventry	1892	13	—
Cricklade	1889	9	—
Croydon	1886	82	35
Eastbourne	No answer.		
Epsom	1888	57	2
Great Yarmouth	1888	26	3
Hastings	1887	21	4
Horsham	?	2	2
Kidderminster	1883	6	—
King's Lynn	1892	7	—
Kingston-upon-Hull	1884	40	2
Leeds	1879	11	5
Lewes	1890	1	—
Liverpool	1871	352	54
Medway	1894	7	—
Northampton ¹	1888	4 or 5	2
Nottingham	1876	108	11
Plymouth	?	?	?
Reading	1893	18	—
Richmond (Surrey)	1894	19	2
Salford	1888	86	5
Sheffield	1889	13	—
South Shields	1886	4 or 5 (one family)	—
Toxteth Park	1893	11	—
Watford	?	?	1
West Ham	1888	141	32
West Derby	1871	84	11
Weymouth	?	1	—

strictly observed and the recommendations of the Inspector carried out. Cf. 24 L. G. B., p. 83.

¹ The clerk reports the boarding-out of this Union to have been an utter failure. (Evidence, p. 585.)

Summing up these figures in all cases where the returns are complete, we find that out of 3215 children boarded out by forty-eight different Unions, 481 had been returned to the workhouse or schools for one cause or another. Of the 481 children about 30 were again boarded-out, but, with all deductions made, the result is unsatisfactory.

Mr. Mozley, who confesses to a leaning in favour of boarding-out, wishing to have as little *machinery* as possible in the training of Poor Law children, but who cannot show that, as regards results, it has any better record than other systems, admits "it is a system liable to some unseen dangers; it takes a child into a freer and more natural life than that of a Poor Law School, but into one in which ill-treatment is more possible. If this be guarded against, the Poor Law School, under its various modifications, has the advantage of the boarding-out system as far as the physical cleanliness of the children is concerned, and it can hardly be entirely superseded, unless the gradual improvement of the community does away with all necessity for Poor Law education altogether."¹

(2) THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS.

In addition to the absolute necessity of the observance of the regulations and conditions of the Central Authority, the success which will attend the boarding-out system depends also upon the inspection of the work of Boarding-out Committees themselves; and its success is also endangered (1) by wholesale and indiscriminate advocacy, and (2) by superficial inspection or supervision. We have already dealt with this last point,² and we will now proceed to deal with the other two.

(a) THE NECESSITY OF OFFICIAL INSPECTION.³

In 1885 a special official inspector for boarded-out (beyond Unions) children was appointed. This was rendered necessary by the increase in the number of Boarding-out Committees, and it was felt that only a lady could properly fill such an office. Miss Mason was asked to undertake the post, and she has continued to fill it from that time to the present. Her annual Reports afford ample evidence, not only of how admirably, fearlessly, and conscientiously she performs her

¹ 30 *L. G. B.*, p. 273.

² *Ante*, p. 196 *et seq.*

³ The expediency of having *official* inspectors of the Local Government Board at all for boarded-out children has been doubted. These critics consider that it would be much better if the Boarding-out Committees were to form an association of their own, and employ their own inspectors. It is unnecessary to argue upon the suggestion, as there is not the least chance of its being adopted.

duties, but also of the absolute necessity of the inspection of the work of the Boarding-out Committees themselves. It is occasionally urged that such inspection is quite unnecessary; but this objection is generally raised by some member of a Boarding-out Committee who does not like to be interfered with in any way, and seldom by the foster-parents. Indeed, Miss Mason gives plenty of evidence to show that it is only foster-parents who have something to conceal who object to her visits and personal inspection of the children.

But Miss Mason has often expressed her opinion that supervision can only be carried out effectually by persons living on the spot, and exercising continual watchfulness.

"The inspector cannot supervise, but can only ascertain, by the condition of the children and their homes, whether the Committees are exercising proper supervision. Official supervision cannot take the place of defective local supervision, especially if the inspector is a man. No man can make such an inspection of girls as foster-mothers themselves maintain to be necessary, while the Committees are composed chiefly of ladies who can always make it. The Committees are authorised for the purpose of looking after the children, and if one Committee fails in carrying out this duty, another may be found who will do it better."¹

The duties of the inspector of boarded-out children are limited to ascertaining, by the inspection of the children and homes, as well as by other methods, how the Committees discharge their responsibilities, and does not in any way relieve the Committees of the burden of theirs.²

Miss Mason's Reports show that she has not limited herself to the discovery of abuses, but that she has in every way been the friend and the helper of Committees. She says that "the work of an inspector consists not merely in detecting abuses, but in encouraging good work";³ and in the same Report she devotes a long paragraph to praise of the work of the Committees.⁴ "There are numbers of ladies and gentlemen quietly devoting themselves to the care of the children, unknown to the public, and without any advantage to themselves."⁵ "My work has been far more one of organization than of criticism."⁶ And we have good reason to believe that this friendly work and help is thoroughly appreciated by the large majority of the Committees; though it is quite natural for unsatisfactory Committees to dislike their work being overlooked, and to take umbrage when abuses, which have taken place under their responsibility, are discovered. Sometimes when the official inspector has reported abuses,

¹ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 199. See also 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 190. ² 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 240. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239. ⁵ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 94. ⁶ *Ibid.*

an outcry is apt to be raised by out-and-out advocates of this boarding-system that it cannot be true, that the facts are exaggerated, and so forth.

Miss Mason has herself been attacked in this way; but her answer to such attacks will be satisfactory to most people. She says:

"If the inspection is to be followed up only by the hushing up of abuses, I fail to see the use of it. I have always understood that the object of inspection was to discover abuses, and that it was useless to discover them without reporting and doing away with them. Some persons appear to think that the system is attacked when a particular home or foster-parent is unfavourably reported upon. But it is a cruel thing to leave a child in a bad home for fear of damaging the boarding-out system generally, by making known the facts. And such a method defeats its own object. I would have no faith in a system which overlooked abuses in detail and the treatment of individual children, for the sake of the general effect. The particular home or foster-parent is to blame, not the boarding-out system generally; and it would be far wiser, as well as more humane, to remove the child at once to a better home with as much speed and as little commotion as possible.

"As I have always contended, 'Honesty is the best policy. It is inconsistent to advocate careful supervision and inspection without the reporting of unsatisfactory facts. For this reporting is the safeguard of the system.'"¹

Miss Mason has often expressed her opinion that there is no system of boarding-out equal to the English, where the children are boarded out beyond the Unions, and are under the supervision of Committees of women under the inspection of a woman.

With regard to Miss Mason's standard of homes and treatment of children, it cannot be considered at all too high. She describes it herself as follows:

"I do not think children should be placed with anyone who has been convicted, nor with foster-parents who drink, or who have illegitimate children, because, however satisfactory the home may be in other respects, children can scarcely be expected to turn out well if brought up to regard such things as normal.

"I do not report the condition of the *house* at all, unless its condition and smell are likely to be actually injurious to health, because I regard the treatment of the child, not the manner in which the house is kept, as the material point of the boarding-out system. I do not, except in extreme cases, pay any attention to cubic space. I think, however, that there ought to be a sufficient number of separate bed-

¹ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 239. See also 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 90. In an article on the "Legal Poor of London," published in the 26th December, 1896, issue of the *Times*, the writer says that the greatest service which Miss Mason has done for the system, is to state very forcibly its weak points and failures.

rooms, however small, to divide the sexes properly. I always take a measuring tape with me, but do not generally use it twice a year.

"I have seldom, if ever, objected to three children sleeping in one bed, if it is of a fair size, and the children of the same sex; and I have not been shocked when I have found four.

"I have not reported bedding as dirty unless almost black, and not always even then. I consider it enough if there is a mattress of any kind, if it is long enough for the full length of the child; and I do not care what it is made of. Nor do I care what the covering is composed of; patched or ragged sheets or blankets, helped out with old coats or petticoats, satisfy me, if sufficient to protect the child from the extreme cold of winter. (It should be remembered that cottagers seldom have a fire in a bedroom.)

"I do not, except in cases when other reasons combine to make the state of the head an aggravating circumstance, report "nits" in the hair, unless it is nearly matted with them; nor live lice, unless they are very distinctly in the plural, and in such cases my usual phrase is "The head needed some attention." I have recently heard from an experienced lady guardian, that one girl, brought back to the school on a report of mine, came with a head in a condition such as neither she nor the matron had ever seen. I had seen many such. Another head was so eaten by lice that I could not have put my finger on a spot that was not sore.

"I report a child as 'clean,' or 'fairly clean,' if its skin underneath gives evidence of a bath within the last four or five weeks. I only report it as 'dirty' when it cannot have been washed for a very much longer period. One woman whose house was undeniably rough and dirty, but who was certainly kind and fond of the children, smutty outside but very fairly clean underneath, took me to her back yard where they played, and showed me the heaps of dirt and litter which adorned it, saying, with a humorous smile, 'Dust we are, and to dust we shall return; we may as well live in it meanwhile without troubling.' As I sympathised with this woman, and agreed with her that the making of mud pies was not only an innocent but a healthy amusement, I ought not to be considered severe.

"The children are now always first boarded-out with an excellent outfit, and an allowance of £2 a year is usually given for each child for its repair and renewal. Few labouring people have as much as this of their own, and, for the first year especially, the children, particularly if very young, want very little new, and the foster-parents must often pocket much of the £2. But I do not report the clothing as unsatisfactory so long as it is just sufficient and holds together.

"As to food, I think the child must share with the family according to their means, and so long as it appears to do so I make no objection, unless indeed the foster-parent is so poor that the child's health or growth appears to be affected by want. I would rather see a child with poor but kind and conscientious people, than with richer persons who cared for it less.

"I do not object to whipping children, if other means of controlling them fail, and it is done in a proper manner; but I do not think they should be kicked nor bruised with hard sticks, especially if this is done

in temper; and I find that it has a hardening effect upon them morally."¹

Miss Mason concludes by leaving it to be judged whether her standard is too high. We think everyone will answer, "No."

It must be observed that the official Inspector of Boarding-out is on quite a different footing, with regard to the Guardians, from that of the other Inspectors. The latter supervise the whole work of the Guardians, while Miss Mason inspects for the Guardians. Indeed, the Guardians are not allowed their travelling expenses for the inspection of the children boarded-out by them beyond the limits of their Unions; for this inspection is to be discouraged on two grounds: (1) That it would tend to perpetuate the connection of the children with pauperism, which it is the object of the boarding-out system to sever; and (2) that as the same Boarding-out Committee often receives children from several Unions, the Guardians or officials of each Union would be visiting the same place, and thus throw needless and multiplied expense upon the rates, as well as draw too much attention to the pauperism of the children by visits from so many persons.

Guardians have, as a matter of fact, the great advantage of the services of an expert inspector, such as they could not secure for themselves, and that they fully appreciate it is shown by their now usually writing to Miss Mason when any doubt or difficulty occurs, and she has always shown herself ready to go to the spot and make the desired investigations. She has also frequently taken with her in her inspections one of the Guardians (usually a lady) of the Union to which the particular children are chargeable. The system of inspection is thus carried out under the most friendly relations between Guardians and the inspector.

We must again draw special attention to the fact that there is no Local Government Board Inspector for children boarded-out *within* Unions.

(b) WHOLESALE AND INDISCRIMINATE ADVOCACY ENDANGERING
THE SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM.

From the way in which some people write and talk about boarding-out, it might be imagined that it was the one and only system by which children could be rescued from pauperism. There is not a tittle of evidence to support such an assumption. The system, just like any other, shows good or bad results according as it is administered. In this wholesale and indiscriminating advocacy lies

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 90.

one of its principal dangers, superficial inspection and supervision being the other principal one. Miss Mason, referring to the former danger, reminds us that :¹

"The boarding-out system has within the last few years been taken up as a popular subject by many persons who are not themselves practically engaged in it, and whose knowledge of it is at second-hand. It is urged by such persons upon Guardians as a panacea and remedy against pauperism on two assumptions, (a) that children, by merely being boarded-out, are, as a matter of course, 'rescued' from the workhouse and from pauper influences, and introduced to the affections and advantages of home and family life; and (b) that there is an unlimited supply of good homes for children.

"These assumptions are, however, entirely unwarranted. (a) Boarding-out is, according to my experience, if well carried out, the best of systems, and if badly, the worst. It is not that it *may* be bad, but that it sometimes *is* so; and I sometimes find scandalous cases of ill-treatment, neglect, and cruelty. A confidence which is inspired by ignorance of, or blindness to, such cases is liable to be rudely shaken by some unexpected exposure. The guarantee for the system lies, not in the absence of such cases, but in the fact that they will be discovered and reported. There is seldom any need to return the children affected to the workhouse, and never any for therefore giving up the boarding-out system; the children can be removed to other and better homes, and perhaps to other and better Committees.

"The boarding-out system has increased largely since my appointment in 1885, and I am constantly told that it is owing to the assurance of the Guardians that they will receive full and impartial information through the independent official reports."

(b) That there is not an unlimited supply of good homes we have already tried to show.²

It cannot, indeed, be too often impressed on the public mind that boarding-out is impossible of universal application. The Inspectors have frequently drawn attention to this point.³ Thus Mr. Mozley writes :⁴

"I conceive that sufficient distinction is not generally drawn between the adoption of the system in individual cases and its wholesale adoption. I should imagine that there are few Unions in which some children might not be beneficially boarded-out; but on the other hand, a resolution on the part of the Guardians to board out, *en masse*, all their children who are capable of being boarded out, is not without risk. It is of the highest importance for the success of the boarding-out system that there should be not merely a probability, but a certainty, that the persons with whom the children are boarded-out

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 193.

² *Ante*, p. 194 *et seq.*

³ e.g., 22 *P. L. B.*, pp. 126, 132; 1 *L. G. B.*, p. 236; 3 *L. G. B.*, pp. 225, 271; 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 196; 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 139; 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 116.

⁴ 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 204.

are those in whom confidence may be placed, and to whom the money offered by the Guardians is not quite the sole inducement for their taking the children. I should conceive it to be very doubtful whether this certainty is attainable where a large number of children are suddenly boarded-out within a limited area; and I have heard (and though I do not vouch for it, it is not perhaps improbable) of cases of this kind of abuse, that labouring men have been partially compelled by their employers, who have happened to be either Guardians or the friends of Guardians, to receive into their houses the children whom it has been resolved to board out."

Mr. Murray Browne, after referring to the abuses which had arisen and must arise from time to time in connection with boarding-out, writes as follows:¹

"The task of those who practise the system must be to reduce these abuses to a minimum. And for this purpose it is essential, to my mind, that the number of children boarded out within any given area should be small. So long as the children to be provided with homes are few, it is possible to select only homes of the very best description, with foster-parents of high characters and exceptional fitness for the task. The number of such persons who are willing to act as foster-parents within any given district is very small. And if it is sought to place out more children than these can take, recourse must be had to homes and to foster-parents of a less eligible nature. I am satisfied that to all attempts to board out under pressure, so to speak, a certain and considerable number of children within a fixed time, or the like, would be full of dangers. If this be so, it follows that any attempt to provide, by means of boarding-out, for the masses of children who are thrown upon the rates in great towns must be abandoned. Boarding-out, if retained, must be retained more or less as a plaything, as an auxiliary, not as a principal engine, wherewith to do the work of the Poor Law in this country. It may provide for a few children here and there, but for the main work of pauper education we must look elsewhere."

But the advocates of the universal application of boarding-out always point to Scotland as exemplifying the possibility of its being so carried out. They neglect, however, to take into account two important facts, (1) the different histories of the Poor Laws in the two countries, and (2) the difference in the social condition of the two peoples. Mr. Henley, in his impartial Report upon the system of boarding-out as practised in Scotland, drew attention to these differences. He said:²

"Those who are not well acquainted with the different habits and modes of life in the working classes of both countries must be careful

¹ 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 143.

² Report on the Boarding-out of Children in Scotland, p. 36. This Report forms a portion of a Return to the House of Commons dated 12th April, 1870.

to draw a too hasty conclusion that what is good in one country necessarily be so in the other. The nations, though happily marked, in their distinctive characteristics. Scotland, as I before mentioned, possesses a class of crofters, or small occupiers; they are undoubtedly the best foster-parents, but they are almost unknown in England, excepting, perhaps, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. The food of the people in the two countries is very different, milk is commonly kept in the house in Scotland, and used with bread; but in England, purchased weekly, or oftener, is the staple food in many parts of England.

"The liberal and provident habits of the northern parts are a household word. Education has also made the northerner, if not a better man, at least a more intelligent being. Himself educated, he would feel the necessity of forcing his foster-charge to school. Would this generally be the case in the several districts of England? And again, Scotland, with its large and densely-populated cities, has drawn largely upon the population sparsely scattered over its pastoral and rural districts, thus leaving an easier opening to the young at the commencement of life than would be found in the more fully-peopled Unions of England.

"I warn those who may attempt to introduce this plan of relief that it can only be successful under the following conditions:

"1. Careful selection of nurses.¹

"2. Liberal payments.

"3. Supervision of paid officers.

"Neglect on any one of these points will ensure failure."

Mr. Wodehouse wrote to the same effect in 1870:²

"Having regard to the great differences which exist between the social condition of England and Scotland, it appears to me very unsafe to infer that what may be a successful system in one country will prove equally efficacious in the other, and until a larger trial has been given to the system in this country, I should be unwilling to express any very decided opinion upon its merits. If happy homes, and foster-parents of kindly disposition, and honest, sober, industrious habits, could be provided for all the pauper children whom the death and desertion of their parents has rendered orphans, no one, I presume, would doubt that the condition of such children would be amenable to an extent immeasurably greater than could be attained by any system of workhouse, separate, or district schools. There are probably few orphan children whose lot would not be the happier if such a position could be made for them. I confess, however, that until experience proves it to be the case,³ I am not sanguine enough to believe that homes and parents of this character will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers. On the other hand, if orphan children are entrusted to persons who are induced to take them merely on account of the

¹ Either this name, or that of "guardians," is given to foster-parents in Scotland.

² 22 *P. L. R.*, p. 132.

³ Experience has not yet proved this. See *ante*, p. 194 *et seq.*

weekly payments which the Guardians make for their maintenance, and who regard them chiefly, if not altogether, as a means whereby their weekly earnings may be increased, their lot will be far more unhappy in itself, and far more disastrous in its results to the community than if they had been left in the worst of the workhouses from which they have been taken. Of this latter class of foster-parents I do not doubt that there will be a superabundant supply."

Mr. Bowyer wrote in 1874 on this subject as follows:¹

"The example of Scotland is frequently cited as a proof that boarding-out might be extensively carried out in England, and with equal benefit to the children. I believe, however, that in the former country its adoption has been a necessity, owing to the inferior organization of the workhouses; but assuming the benefits of the system in Scotland to be as great as stated, I cannot accept the fact as an argument for introducing it as extensively in this country. The social condition of the two is not the same. The fact that in Scotland bribery at elections is almost unknown, and that it is not uncommon for poor persons to stint themselves in order to send a promising son to the University, indicates such a superiority in culture and moral tone in that country as to render any argument from analogy with corresponding classes here inapplicable. When similar phenomena can be recorded in England, extensive boarding-out may perhaps be safe but not till then."

It must not be forgotten, too, that boarding-out in Scotland is supervised by paid Inspectors—men—and without the machinery of a voluntary agency which is such an admirable portion of the English system. Miss Mason has over and over again shown the superiority of the English system in this respect. Her evidence before the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools should be read,² and even the Committee themselves were obliged to acknowledge the defects and inferiority of the Scotch system to the other.³

But, even if sufficient good homes and foster-parents should ever be forthcoming, there must always be a great number of children, for whom the Guardians would be responsible, who cannot be boarded out. Miss Mason, for instance, has over and over again protested against the boarding-out of feeble-minded children, to mention only one class. She has found that such children, whether boys or girls, are not kindly treated by foster-parents as a rule. The latter are not able to look after them, and they are liable to be bullied by the other children. Feeble-minded children can be best dealt with in small Institutions.

¹ 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 196.

² Evidence, Qs. 14,334-14,338.

³ Report, p. 94, par. 383.

⁴ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 176; 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 87; 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 233.

It is also very necessary to remind those who are anxious to see the boarding-out system extended, that the cause can only be injured by running down other systems in order to show up its advantages in a stronger light.

As to its freeing the children from the so-called "pauper taint," we deal with this question later on.¹

(3) THE DEFECTS IN THE SYSTEM.

"The principal weakness of the boarding-out system," wrote Mr. Bowyer in 1874, "lies in the fact that it is founded on two opposite principles. The first is, confidence in the benevolence and honesty of human nature. The second, distrust of its selfishness and dishonesty. The former is expressed in the affectionate title of foster-parent, and the latter in the elaborate supervision by which his conduct is watched and reported on to the Guardians. I am aware that all human transactions are more or less governed by the principles of trust and distrust; but I confess that I do not know of any in which they are more strongly and more antagonistically appealed to than in the boarding-out of pauper children."²

It may be said at once that in very few cases do the foster-parents take the children from mere love of them. In nearly every case they are undoubtedly taken for the sake of profit and their services; but it does not of course follow from this that they may not be well treated. Indeed, in many cases, and almost always when the children are boarded out young, real affection for them springs up. Miss Mason, in 1886, analysed as follows the different classes of homes to which the children are sent, with the motives for which they are taken.³

(1) Where persons who never had children of their own, or whose children had died, or grown up and perhaps gone away, had taken a foster-child from pure love of children, not being able to afford to adopt it *gratis*, but glad to do so if its costs were paid. (2) Where the foster-parents had, on the representations of the Committee members, apparently taken the children from real charity and pity for an orphan. (3) Where persons, having children of their own, have received foster-children avowedly for the sake of the help of their payments towards the housekeeping. (4) Where the children were taken for mixed motives, perhaps for company, and for errands, profit, or use. (5) Where the children were intended to be trained as future servants in the house. (6) Where the children were apparently used in the place of servants. (7) Where, for whatever reason the children might have been originally taken, they appeared to be neglected.

¹ See *post*, pp. 329-334. ² 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 195. ³ 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 51.

This Report was written upon Miss Mason's first three months of inspections, and from the experiences related in her subsequent reports it would appear that an eighth class should be added—where the children are *actually ill-treated*.

Again, whatever may be said against Poor Law schools, it cannot be alleged that the cleanliness of the children is neglected, as is so often the case in regard to boarded-out children.

Miss Mason tells us that she has found many of the dirtiest children in the cleanest and best-kept cottages.¹ To give only two instances. She says :

"I asked one of the cleanest of a batch of girls how often her feet were washed. She answered, 'Mother says the time's not yet come.' 'When will the time come?' I asked. 'In the summer,' she said. It was then the middle of March. The house here was very clean and in good order. In another case elsewhere, a woman explained to me that her foster-daughter was now too old to wash more than her face and neck, and that the skin complaint which I had discovered 'came below the water-mark.' Such cases are so common that I have not reported them unless there was further evidence of neglect, or unless it was an aggravating circumstance in an otherwise satisfactory home, or unless the school teachers had specially reported the children as clean, having only seen their hands and faces."

Of course the same standard of comfort, care, and cleanliness is not to be expected in boarding-out that would be required in an institution, but in weighing the advantages of this system and others, the fact must not be forgotten that it is quite impossible for the children in Poor Law schools to be neglected in this respect.

Ophthalmia is generally considered to be limited to children in large schools. It may surprise some people to hear that boarded-out children are also liable to be attacked by it.

"Not long ago the Croydon Guardians applied to the Local Government Board for permission to subscribe both to the Bath Eye Infirmary and to the Addenbrook Hospital at Cambridge for children boarded-out as far apart as Somerset and Suffolk, certain of whom had been treated from time to time in both hospitals for eye disease."

Miss Mason gives particulars of the cases² which came under her own observation, but she tells us that they are by no means the only ones.

"I found two cases quite recently of a boy and girl not related, and in different homes in the same village, suffering from very bad eyes, who had no appearance of it when first boarded-out or for some time afterwards." And she says that she considers it only right to

¹ 17 L. G. B., p. 111.

² 25 L. G. B., p. 233.

th " y hope of altogether getting rid of ophthalmia
by 1 le b di ut will be sure to meet with disappointment."

But, as 1 ve the extreme advocates of the system somehow
or other overlook th defects, although they are only too keen to
discover them in ot systems. Miss Mason takes a very fair view
of the whole n and most usefully exposes the unfairness of this
mode of reasoning.¹

"It is urged," she writes, "by some extreme advocates of the
boarding-out system, that if a boarded-out child should be ill-treated
it is only a single case, whereas a number may be ill-treated in large
schools. But 100 children may be ill-treated separately as well as
together, and, as I have shown, suffer all the more. The same line
of argument would prove that 100 well-treated children together would
show a large sum of happiness, while one happy child alone would
be not worth considering. This argument is altogether beside the
matter, and only damages the boarding-out system, by showing that
those who employ it do not consider the ill-treatment of children singly
worth considering.

"I do not think the same standard of comfort, care, and cleanliness
can be generally expected in boarding-out that should be required in an
institution. The advantages of ordinary family life are, in my opinion,
quite sufficient to counterbalance a great amount of roughness; yet I
think that there should be some proportion in estimating the treatment
of children under the two systems.

"There is an outcry if children in a Poor Law school are whipped,
and we are told that it is 'cruelty' to cane them; whereas foster-parents
may beat boarded-out children with large sticks till they are black with
bruises, and we are told that the children are bad and deserve it, and
that all working people thus punish their own.

"If children from Poor Law schools turn out badly it is said to
be the fault of the system, but if boarded-out children are unsatisfactory
we are told that it is their own fault, their own bad dispositions and
behaviour, and that the foster-parents have been too kind and indulgent
towards them.

"Half-time schooling is considered an abuse in a Poor Law school,
but we are told that boarded-out children are thus employed beneficially
for their training, and that the working classes thus employ their own.

"Two children may not be washed in the same water in a Poor Law
school, but we are told that boarded-out children need never be washed
at all, because it is not the custom of working people to wash their own.

"Children in a Poor Law school must have the best of diet, and no
scraps of meat allowed, but we are told that boarded-out children do
not want meat at all because working people cannot afford it, and
do not give it to their own.

"Children in a Poor Law school must be perfectly clothed, and
their garments without a rent; but though the Local Government
Board's form of agreement between Guardians and Boarding-out

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 92.

Committees expressly provides that the committee shall duly ascertain whether the money allowance provided for the clothing of the boarded-out children is spent for the purpose for which it is given, we are told that in their case we need only look at the neighbours' children, and though they may be scantily clothed and ragged, we are to be satisfied if the outward appearance of the boarded-out children is no worse.

"Two children of the same sex may not sleep in the same bed in a Poor Law school, but we are told that boarded-out children may sleep boys and girls together, or with grown persons of different sexes in the same room, because this is the custom of working people, and they have not generally a sufficiency of bedrooms. Last year I found that a girl of fourteen had been sleeping with her foster-father upstairs, while her sister, twelve, slept downstairs with her foster-mother, a bulky and helpless invalid, upon whom they waited like nurses. The elder girl, being beyond control, was removed to another home, and then the younger girl slept with the man. What would be said if such a case occurred in a district school?

"Chilblains are counted among the abuses of district schools, but among boarded-out children we are told that they are of no consequence, and are not due to neglect, but are common to the children of the working classes. Every winter I find the feet of boarded-out children affected with them, and sometimes their hands, ears, and faces also. I often find chilblains broken and ulcerated, and become large raw sores. One girl last winter had large green gatherings on every joint of both hands, from chilblains. Another pulled off her stocking to show me a broken and untended chilblain, and in doing so the blood poured upon the floor (fortunately covered with an oilcloth) of the schoolmaster's parlour. His wife kindly gave me some clean rag, with which I bandaged the child's foot, and water for the very necessary washing of my hands afterwards.

"I have heard it urged as an objection to some Poor Law schools that the children have no house slippers, and have to wear hard boots all day. But it is quite the exception to find boarded-out children provided with slippers, and many of them have not even a second pair of boots for change if they get their feet wet. Last year I found a boy whose feet were deformed from wearing boots he had grown out of. I put my pencil through the soles, and a nail inside had worn a deep hole in his toe. It was urged in defence that it could not have hurt him or he would not have been able to walk three or four miles a day to school and back in these boots. What would be said of such a defence if the case had occurred in a district school?"

A case has often been quoted in support of boarding-out, of a child who, when first boarded-out, did not know how to kiss. Miss Mason matches it with another, of a boarded-out child who had never known, since he was quite small, any other home. "At the age of seventeen he was sent off to Canada, and he asked the housekeeper of a member of the Boarding-out Committee to kiss him before he left, because he said he had never known a mother's kiss; he had never been kissed by

man, and would like to have been kissed once by one before he England."¹

It is scarcely a matter for wonder, then, that mothers should dislike their children being boarded-out. But such is the case. Miss Mason tells us that she has often asked the question of mothers,² and has so far only had one answer in the affirmative, and this mother, a widow, qualified her answer by saying that she would only have her children boarded-out if she was personally acquainted with the foster-parents, and knew them to be trustworthy.

(4) BOARDING-OUT WITHIN UNIONS.

The practice of boarding-out children *within* the limits of the Union to which they are chargeable is a very old one. As Miss Mason reminds us,³ "Oliver Twist" was a farmed-out child.

"It is quite a mistake to suppose that he was brought up in a workhouse. On the contrary he was brought up in an isolated home, some three miles away from the workhouse, containing only twenty or thirty children, under the 'parental superintendence of an elderly female,' who professed much affection for the 'dear children,' and whom Mr. Bumble called a 'humane' woman. And the description of Oliver's tears on leaving this 'wretched home' for the unknown, deserves careful reading. Boarding-out and small homes are no new things; what is new is the system of safeguards which now surround them, and without which, carefully applied, they will revert to the conditions described by Dickens."

In 1869 the Poor Law Inspectors were instructed to report fully upon the system of boarding-out in different Unions in England, and their Reports were published in 1870 in a Parliamentary Return.⁴ It seems that in some of the Unions it was a common practice to allow orphan children to remain in the care of a friend or relative, to whom small sums were paid weekly as the children's out-relief; while in others orphan children were occasionally boarded-out with strangers on account of special circumstances, such as the want of proper arrangements for bringing them up in the workhouse. But this practice was not recognized by the clerks as an adoption of the boarding-out system, but as a form of outdoor relief.⁵

Mrs. Nassau Senior was strongly against this system of boarding-out, surrounded, as it was, by no proper safeguards, and expressed her

¹ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 174.

² 18 *L. G. B.*, p. 158. Miss Mason gives instances.

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 231.

⁴ Sessional Paper of 12th April, 1870 (No. 176) pp. 121 to end.

⁵ See 3 *L. G. B.*, p. xxxii.; 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 172.

opinion that she would rather have no children boarded-out than that the system generally should be brought into disrepute by the abuses which would be sure to arise if this irregular system of boarding-out was allowed to be practised.¹

And Mr. Mozley in 1876 expressed similar views. He said that the system of boarding-out children "had been carried out in a way that was not intended by those who originally brought it in. It was by them intended to be administered by special Boarding-out Committees, having no other official duty under the Poor Laws besides this, and, therefore, being at liberty to give a considerable portion of their time to the supervision of the children, and being exclusively responsible if anything went wrong. Now, practically, in nine cases out of ten the boarding-out system has been carried out as a simple branch of outdoor relief, under the almost sole supervision of the Guardians and Relieving Officer."²

We have already referred to the reasons which actuate Guardians in preferring to board out children within their own Unions.³ Although since 1877 they have been bound down by strict regulations and conditions when they do so, we think there can be no doubt that the general objections to boarding-out *within* Unions are very strong.

Public opinion is, we think, gradually veering round to regard outdoor relief in itself as a very great evil, and to require that very careful inquiries should be made into all applications for relief before it is granted in that form. Boarding-out *within* Unions is merely a form of outdoor relief. The practice may lead to favouritism. The causes which have made the orphan or deserted child dependent on the rates are well known to all the neighbours. They will not understand why a particular child, for whom its parents might have provided, or of whom relations might take charge, should be so favoured as to be paid for by the ratepayers. They will expect outdoor relief for their

¹ 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 342.

² 5 *L. G. B.*, p. 149.

³ *Anti*, p. 205. Mr. Andrew Doyle, in his Report on boarding-out in the Swansea Union of the 9th April, 1875, considers "boarding-out" in Unions as simply another name for outdoor relief. "Sometimes, like other forms of outdoor relief, it is adopted upon mistaken grounds of economy, the immediate cost of outdoor relief being less than the cost of maintenance in the workhouse; more frequently it is the substitute for proper school accommodation. Guardians, when pressed to improve the classification of their workhouse, will become suddenly alive to all the assumed advantages of boarding-out. Then, for the first time, it is found that orphans and deserted children could be placed in good 'homes' at 2s. 6d. a week, would be removed from the atmosphere of 'pauperism,' and be 'brought up under domestic influence,' and finally 'absorbed into the working population.'" (See 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 172.)

own children in times of difficulty, whether it is given for their benefit directly or indirectly; and how are their arguments to be answered?

It is only fair, however, to state the arguments on the other side. They were well put by Mrs. Nassau Senior in her Report of 1874, although, as we have seen, she used them in support of boarding-out *beyond* Unions.¹ Still they apply generally to both kinds of boarding-out. She said:²

"Another reason has been alleged against the boarding-out system, that it is bad for a labourer, struggling hard to support his family, to see in the next cottage a pauper child, for whose maintenance a sum is paid far exceeding what it is in his power to spend on his own child, and that the knowledge that in case of his death his children would be equally well done by will prevent his trying to lay by during his lifetime for their maintenance, in the event of his death before they can be self-supporting.

"I think there are two errors in these statements. In the first place, every man, even an uneducated labourer, if he gives the subject a thought, knows what the Poor Rate means, and is aware that pauper children are supported by the Poor Rate at more or less cost.

"It is very generally known, even among country people, that a labourer's child, living at home, does not cost him what a pauper child, even in the most economical workhouse, costs the rates.

"The labourer knows that pauper children would be supported and educated, and the most limited intelligence can understand that 3s. 6d. to board out a child is less out of the rates, and more than the child would cost in the workhouse.³

"With regard to any jealousy or ill feeling that might arise in the minds of the peasants, who could not spend on their children what was paid for the child boarded out, I do not think that such unworthy feelings, if they exist, should be taken into consideration, and I do not believe that, as a rule, they would be found to exist. The poor are remarkably kind to each other, and full of pity for children deprived of their natural protectors, as anyone who knows them well can testify. If they were asked whether a dead neighbour's child should be sent to the workhouse, or boarded-out at more expense than they can afford for their own children, I well know what their answer would be.

"Nor do I believe that a thrifty man would be discouraged in his career of honourable independence by the knowledge that his children would be provided for out of the workhouse rather than in it, if he left them unprovided for. A worthy man is not thus influenced by unworthy motives, and it is not the sight of a few children boarded-out that would induce the pauper spirit where it did not already exist."

¹ *Ante*, p. 229.

² 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 342.

³ This particular statement, of course, involves the old fallacy that outdoor relief is cheaper than indoor relief, which has been so often exposed since Mrs. Nassau Senior's time.

Mr. Bowyer answered these arguments as follows.¹ After referring to the fact that the scheme of boarding-out was founded on the two opposite principles of a confidence in the benevolence and honesty of human nature, and in a distrust of its selfishness and dishonesty,² he continued :

"It is the first of these principles that actuated the promoters of the scheme, and it is the one on which they must mainly rely for its general adoption, since it is founded on the assumption that there exist some thousands of persons belonging to the labouring classes who are desirous of undertaking the duties and responsibilities of a parent towards pauper children, without any interested motives, or, at least, with a very slight admixture of them. How many thousands of such persons would be requisite for the ample disposal of all, or nearly all, the orphans in our workhouses there is no means of estimating, as the number of such children is not stated in the returns of the Local Government Board.³ But it cannot be doubted that it would be more than a few. Perhaps 10,000 would not be an over-estimate. As, therefore, these persons must be all volunteers, the success of the scheme would imply (unless a profit can be made out of the children) the existence of a spirit of philanthropy far more general than has been hitherto expected. I do not question that if a profit can be made out of the weekly stipend of 3s. 6d. or 4s. with outfit, a sufficient number of applicants for children may come forward, and I have no doubt that a profit is actually made, especially when more than one child is taken by the same family. On this subject the Report says : 'It is very generally known among country people that a labourer's child living at home does not cost him what a pauper child, even in the most economical workhouse, costs the rates.' I believe that the cost of maintenance of the children alone in workhouses is considerably under the allowance, in money and outfit, made to foster-parents. Self-interest must, therefore, enter to some extent into the motives of even the best of them, and will be the ruling motive of the mass. Then the principle of distrust is called forth, and in order to show that there are grounds for it I will mention that the master of a workhouse told me that on the first advertisements being issued, applications were received even from distant places, and the schools were crowded with applicants, who examined the children, as he expressed it, 'as in a slave market,' avowedly selecting those who they thought would eat less."

Mr. Bowyer then remarks that clothing and feeding the child is not the least of the duties which are required of the foster-parents, the

¹ See 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 195. We would also refer our readers to Mr. Carleton Tufnell's criticism of Mrs. Senior's Report. Sessional paper, February 8th, 1875, No. 10.

² The full passage is quoted *ante*, p. 225.

³ On January 1st, 1896, 33,978 orphans or other children relieved without their parents were receiving indoor relief.

others being such as to imply the possession by them of virtues, which cannot often be secured by any payment.

Miss Mason answers the argument against boarding-out, "that it must be discouraging to the labouring classes to see the children of paupers, thriftless or deserting parents, boarded out at more cost and under better conditions than they can provide for their own children by their work, and that it must tend both to create jealousy and to indispose them to make provision for their own families," as follows: ¹

"The answer is that the labouring classes know better than ladies and gentlemen how the Guardians' allowance is spent by their neighbours, and they do not always see it expended upon the children. They do not trust boarding-out as a system. They regard it, as a whole, as a means of gain to foster-parents. The children are a species of lodgers. I find jealousy in abundance, but it is not jealousy of the children, but of the foster-parents who have been lucky enough to obtain the children's payments."

But if Guardians do practise the system it should be certainly carried out by means of Boarding-out Committees, which, for the reason set out earlier in this chapter, should consist of ladies. It is, however, to be preferred that these ladies should not be Guardians. Rather should lady Guardians act as critics and judges of the work of the Committees. At present, in far the greater number of Unions the children boarded-out *within* their limits are visited by the Guardians or the Relieving Officers alone.²

As we have before stated, there is no official Inspector of Boarding-out within Unions, even when the children are under the supervision of duly certified Committees. It is argued, on the one hand, that the help and training of an expert inspector would be quite as valuable to a *within* Unions Committee as to a *beyond* Unions Committee. This may be admitted. On the other hand it may fairly be argued that, as boarding-out *within* Unions should not be encouraged, it would be unwise for the Central Authority to recognize it in the way suggested. Rather, we think, should the Local Government Board encourage boarding-out *beyond* Unions by providing the present inspector with one or more assistant inspectors.³ This would not only enable her to perform her general duties of supervision with more satisfaction to herself, but would be a means of training others in the work, so that when the time might come for her to retire, her place might be easily filled.

¹ 18 L. G. B., p. 158.

² See *ante*, p. 201, as to the uselessness of homes being visited by men.

³ Assuming that *official* inspection is desirable. See *ante*, p. 216 (note 3).

Besides, this additional help would free her for paying any visits to Boarding-out *within* Unions Committees which the Local Government Board might think desirable.

Another reason which probably leads Boards of Guardians to prefer boarding-out children in their own Unions is that they have them under their own eyes, and think that if any case of cruelty occurred they would know of it at once themselves, or through the neighbours. But as Miss Mason reminds us:¹

"In the first place many cottages are isolated, and without any neighbours. In the second a great deal may go on inside the walls which even a next-door neighbour does not know; and in the third, neighbours, as a rule, do not like to draw quarrels and annoyances upon themselves by telling what they do not know. Of how difficult it is to find out facts in a private house I had a striking instance last year. A girl, withdrawn by relatives from boarding-out, wrote a letter to the Guardians charging her foster-father with the most shocking immorality. The facts were communicated to me privately; and, at the Guardians' request, I immediately went to the place, and made as full an investigation as possible. I had inspected the home before and found it very satisfactory, and I found it still apparently so. Questions would have been both useless and mischievous. I told no one, not even the Committee, what I had heard lest I should injure an innocent man, but by carefully directed conversation ascertained that he still bore an excellent character, and evidently no one had the least suspicion of anything wrong. The girl has since been placed under the care of a lady long and thoroughly experienced in rescue and preventive work. This lady, from her knowledge and observation of the girl, seems inclined to believe her story to be true; yet I can say no more than that it is possible, and that if it is true no one could have found it out, and the Committee are in no way to blame."²

It is quite possible indeed for the neighbours to wink at what may go on in a foster home, and Miss Mason shows how they may help to deceive visitors with regard to the children.³

We have already referred to the tears which poor "Oliver Twist" shed on being removed from the home of his "humane" foster-parent. Such tears are no proof that the home is a good one.

"I have often pointed out," writes Miss Mason,⁴ "that the tears of children are caused by fright, and by a dread of the workhouse. The more a child is ill-treated the greater is the fear of what else may be in store for it, and the more abundant its tears. Foster-parents who are really attached to the children try to comfort them, if for some

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 91.

² Miss Mason gives another instance in this same Report as showing what may go on in a house unknown to the neighbours. *Ibid.*

³ *c.g.*, see *ante*, p. 204.

⁴ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 234.

reason they have to give them up, and the parting is therefore usually effected without tears; but those who have ill-treated them terrify them by threats of the treatment and punishments which await them elsewhere. I have already referred to Dickens' excellent description of the tears of Oliver Twist on leaving the baby-farm. In one case during the past year the parting between two boys and a very unsatisfactory foster-mother was described to me as 'heart-breaking.' In another instance the secretary of a certain Committee and I proceeded together to a home in order ourselves to remove two little girls of five and eight, whom I had found covered with bruises. The woman had neglected to provide them with clothes, though she had received the full allowance. She had deceived the Committee in the matter of the sleeping arrangements, and had received any number of lodgers. In a storm of anger she now refused to let the children go, the chief reason being that she did not wish any other woman to see their lack of clothing. The children were brought in, and she set them off screaming herself, by saying, 'Do not cry, my darlings, you are not going to be taken away from me, no one shall do you any harm.' Helped by a girl of her own, the two children roared and screamed so loudly and persistently that the secretary of the Committee and myself were actually obliged to give up the attempt to move them that day, and we left them for a week, the foster-mother promising that she would provide them with an outfit of clothing which we specified in detail. At the end of the week the outfit was provided, and the foster-mother allowed them to go quietly, and there were no more tears. There was no question as to the gross ill-treatment and neglect in this case, and yet it was one where the tears and cries of the children made it actually impossible for myself to remove them at the time."

The above extracts from Miss Mason's Reports show how little neighbours care for what may be going on under their very noses, and how easy it is for the Guardians or Relieving Officer to be deceived. It is well known how liable they are to be imposed upon by the apparently destitute; but the danger of imposition is much greater in the case of boarded-out children.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to remind Guardians who board out children *within* Unions of the obligation they are under to see that these children receive proper education.¹

(5) CONCLUDING REMARKS.

While we are fully alive to all the advantages of boarding-out which are painted in such brilliant colours by its ardent advocates, we have thought we should be doing the best service by directing attention to the dangers to which the system is exposed, unless it is most carefully supervised. Some of its advocates would like to see the regulations of

¹ See remarks of Mr. Mozley on this subject, 9 *L. G. B.*, p. 207.

the Central Authority relaxed. In our opinion, for the safety and welfare of the children, these regulations should be made even more stringent, and boarding-out *within* Unions absolutely forbidden, unless proper Boarding-out Committees are formed.

"Boarding-out is becoming so popular a hobby, and there is so much disposition to overlook unsatisfactory facts, that a strong warning is necessary for the protection of the children."

So writes Miss Mason,¹ a warm supporter of the system, but whom experience has taught the great abuses to which it is exposed, unless most carefully safeguarded.

As for the system being able to deal with all classes of Poor Law children, it seems to us scarcely necessary to argue the point.

If any attempt is made to board-out wholesale or on a large scale, the result is likely to be disastrous. "Boarding-out, to be really, not superficially, satisfactory, should be limited to carefully selected cases of children, sent to carefully selected Committees, placed in carefully selected homes, and thoroughly supervised."²

These conditions are complied with in many Boarding-out Committees, and the success the Committees meet with is directly proportional to the closeness with which the conditions are observed.

¹ 18 *L. G. B.*, p. 157.

² 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 178.

CHAPTER IX.

OTHER SYSTEMS OF BRINGING UP POOR LAW CHILDREN

- (1) SCHOOLS CERTIFIED UNDER 25 & 26 VICT. CH. 43.
- (2) INSTITUTIONS NOT SPECIALLY CERTIFIED.
- (3) TRAINING SHIPS.
- (4) SENDING CHILDREN TO SCHOOLS OF OTHER UNIONS.

WE have in the preceding chapters referred to the principal methods in vogue for educating and training Poor Law children. But there are certain classes which may be more satisfactorily dealt with in other ways, and although the number of children belonging to these classes is at the present time quite small in proportion to the total number of children in Poor Law Institutions or boarded-out,¹ the probability that in the future much more use may be made of the institutions described in this chapter would render our work incomplete without some reference to them. We shall deal first with institutions certified to receive Poor Law children; secondly, with those not so certified; thirdly, with the system of Training Ships for boys; and, fourthly, with the system of sending the children to the schools of other Unions.

SECTION I. CERTIFIED SCHOOLS.

Under the Poor Law (Certified Schools) Act, 1862,² and the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1882,³ Boards of Guardians may send any *poor* child⁴ to any school which has been certified by the Local Government Board to be fit for its reception, provided the managers of

¹ On the 1st January, 1896, 59,595 children were in establishments under the control of the Guardians or boarded-out, while only 5251 were in certified schools. In addition 2013 persons are set down as being in "hospitals or other institutions," but the statistics do not show what proportion of these were children. See 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 398.

² 25 & 26 Vict. ch. 43.

³ 45 & 46 Vict. ch. 58. s. 13.

⁴ See as to Blind and Deaf Children, *post*, p. 246. By section six of the Act of 1862 "no child may be sent to such schools unless he or she be an orphan, or deserted by his or her surviving parent, or be one whose parents or surviving parent shall consent to the sending such child to the said school."

the school are willing to receive it; and, with regard to the expense connected with its maintenance, clothing and education during the time that it remains in the school, this is only limited in amount to what may be sanctioned by the Local Government Board. Guardians may also, under the Act of 1862, pay the expenses of taking the children to and from the schools, and (in case of death there) of their burial.

On the 1st January, 1896, the number of schools so certified was 215;¹ of this number 180 were Industrial and Training Homes, 17 were Institutions for the Blind, 17 were Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb, and one was an Institution for Idiots. In these Institutions the rates of payment sanctioned by the Local Government Board vary from 3/- to 7/- per week in the ordinary ones, and from about 6/- to 12/- per week in those for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, Convalescents, Cripples, and Idiots.²

It is not the practice of the Local Government Board to place a too strict interpretation upon the term "school" used in the Act of 1862. "They are generally willing to certify institutions which, being otherwise eligible, provide for only a small amount of mental, together with some industrial instruction, and which offer advantages of skilled industrial instruction."³

By the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1868,⁴ illegitimate as well as legitimate children can be sent to certified schools, and in the former case the consent of the mother is sufficient "if she has the care, custody, or possession of the child."

By Section 7 of the Act of 1862 Guardians may not keep children at certified schools against their will after the age of 14, nor against the wish of their parents or surviving parent whatever be their age.

An Act passed in 1866⁵ ensures the children being sent to schools of the denominations to which they are proved to belong.

¹ In 1863, immediately after the passing of the Act, six schools were certified under it. Of these six only three are still certified. No year passes without the cancelling of some certificates. The schools largely depend for their support upon the payments received from Boards of Guardians. A list of the number of new schools certified, and of those whose certificates have been cancelled, is printed in the Appendix of each Annual Report of the Poor Law Board, and of the Local Government Board.

² In about half the total number of Institutions the payments are 4/- per week, while in about forty cases they are 6/- per week; in only seven cases among the ordinary Institutions do the payments exceed 6/- per week; and in only two cases do the payments come up to 10/-, viz., 10/- per week in the Crippled Boys' Home, Kensington, and 12/- per week in the Academy of Music for the Blind.

³ Evidence of Mr. W. E. Knollys before the Departmental Committee. Q. 16,128.

⁴ 31 & 32 Vict. ch. 122, s. 23.

⁵ 29 & 30 Vict. ch. 113, s. 14.

Advantage is taken of these schools by Guardians, more especially for the education and training of Roman Catholic children, but as to other children, unless they have some physical defects necessitating special treatment, Boards of Guardians very naturally think that they can be looked after just as well in Poor Law establishments as in schools managed by voluntary committees of benevolent persons generally interested in the welfare of children.

In the Report of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools, the certified Roman Catholic schools and the certified schools of other denominations are dealt with in separate chapters.¹ While the former class of schools² are somewhat severely criticised, little is said about the latter class. Probably had the Committee taken the trouble to obtain fuller information with regard to this class of schools or homes, they might have found much to criticise in the management of them; while the dislike of Boards of Guardians to entrust the children to them might have been found to be based on very good reasons.

The success of these homes depends entirely upon their management, and Miss Lidgett has told us what happened in a home in which the committee of management had ceased to take an active interest.³ She had referred to a small home with nine children at Haslemere as one of the most cheerful homes she had seen, the success of which was attributed to constant visiting by the ladies who started it, "not by way of spying out the matron, but of keeping the air stirring and of supporting her in all her good work, and keeping her alive," but then went on to describe another home with thirty children, which was discovered to be in a bad state by the Guardians who had a girl there who was not doing well. "It was found that the matron had let the girls get very unruly, and she punished them by putting mustard on the tips of their fingers. I think it was in that home also that she touched up their lips with stinging nettles."⁴ I have heard of it in other certified homes, and that sort of thing will happen in a small home, where a woman is shut in to a monotonous round of duty with these children, and the committee ceases to take an active interest."

It must be borne in mind that a matron of such a home has, perhaps, some difficult girls to deal with, whom she cannot send away. It is easy to realise how she might get aggravated beyond measure, and

¹ Chapters xvi. and xvii.

² For a description of some of these schools, see 21 *L. G. B.*, pp. 180-185.

³ Evidence before Departmental Committee. Q. 1245.

⁴ Miss Lidgett is not quite certain whether it was in that particular home that the "stinging nettles" incident occurred.

have recourse to punishments which she would not find it convenient to mention to the committee. Such things are, of course, much more likely to happen in a small home than in a large one, and render it most necessary for Boards of Guardians freely to use their power under the Act of 1862¹ of visiting homes in which they have any children boarded-out; for while these homes are subject to inspection by the Poor Law Inspectors under the same Act, it is not to be expected that visits at long intervals will be of any use in discovering defects.

And the homes are so necessary an adjunct to the Poor Law that every effort should be made to keep them up to the mark. They are of the greatest use for many varieties of elder girls. If they are found to be badly managed, their certificates can and should be cancelled until the management has been reformed.

The special institutions which are established for the care of children suffering from physical or mental defects, and for the proper treatment of whom Boards of Guardians have no appliances, are, we believe, utilised very extensively.

These institutions might be with advantage largely increased. For instance, for feeble-minded children only six homes are at present certified, and these are for girls only.² This class of children cannot be safely boarded out. One of the homes referred to is at Hitchin, and is known as "Scott House." It was established by, and is under the management of, the London M. A. B. Y. S. From the annual Report of that Society for 1895 we learn that "the girls are in good order and are improving in intelligence, in industry, and in manners. Several of the girls are being trained in the laundry and are acquiring some skill in their work, in which they take much interest. It will be noticed that £124 4s. 8d. has been earned by laundry work during the year. Lessons are given in singing and drilling twice a week, which are much enjoyed, and the younger girls have daily lessons in the schoolroom, besides attending some classes kindly held there by ladies. The health of the household has been good." The girls in this home average twenty, and are between the ages of thirteen and sixteen.³

Then we agree with Miss Lidgett that homes are required for the "morally depraved," and she shows how difficult it is at the present time to provide for such cases. Ordinary certified homes will not

¹ 25 & 26 Vict. ch. 43, s. 4.

² Five other homes are "approved," and we understand that three others will shortly be ready to receive girls. In Appendix H will be found a list of the existing homes. The National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-minded hope shortly to be in a position to open a home for boys.

³ See also 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 112.

receive such children, while their presence in the Poor Law school has a contaminating influence on the other children.¹

There is no provision at all for cases combining mental feebleness with depraved habits. It may be well to point out that the "feeble-minded" and "morally-depraved" children, and those children who combine both these defects, all require separate special treatment under the control of specially-qualified persons.

The Departmental Committee made the general suggestion that certified homes should not contain more than fifteen children.² We agree with this, so far as it relates to homes which train girls to domestic service, but such special institutions as cripples' homes for boys could not be so limited in numbers. The Committee's recommendation seems to us too general; but we suppose they would not, on principle, recommend a "barrack" institution such as the very successful and well-managed Home for Crippled Boys at Kensington.

An interesting account of the certified schools in Mr. Jenner Fust's district will be found in his Report for 1894.³ There were sixteen of them—two in Cumberland, two in Westmoreland, and twelve in Lancashire; nine were for boys, four for girls, and three for both boys and girls. Four of them were Roman Catholic Institutions. We quote from the Report in full, and we would specially direct attention to the fact that the great success met with in the schools arises from the children staying in them for several years. These facts of course make it impossible to compare "results" with any fairness to the Poor Law schools, which are so much troubled by the numbers of children who are always coming and going.

"Certified Schools.—Reference was made in the last Report to the increase that was taking place in the number of schools certified under 25 & 26 Vict. ch. 43, as fitted for the reception of pauper children, and these schools are assuming such importance that a few words relating to them may not be uninteresting. The following is a brief description of those at present at work in the district. They are sixteen in number, viz., two in Cumberland, two in Westmoreland, and twelve in Lancashire; of these nine receive girls only, with occasionally an infant boy, and four receive boys only.

"Those for girls consist of:

1. The Wigton Roman Catholic Orphanage, for 51 girls, in connection with the convent at Wigton.
2. The Orphan Girls' Home, for 14, at Whitehaven.

¹ Miss Lidgett's evidence before the Departmental Committee, Qs. 1228-1230.

² Report of Departmental Committee, p. 118.

³ 24 *L. G. B.*, pp. 49-53. Mr. Moorsom, the Assistant Inspector for the district, obtained the information about the schools which is published in this Report.

3. The West Derby Orphanage, for 24 girls, at West Derby, Liverpool.
4. The Emigration Training Home, for 40 girls, at "Rosen Hallas," Cheetham Hall, Manchester.
5. The Hollymount School, for 120 Roman Catholic girls, at Hollymount, Tottington.
6. The Rossendale Cottage Home, for 18 girls, at Newchurch, in the Haslingden Union.
7. The Training Home, for four girls, at 207, Park Road, Bolton.
8. The Roman Catholic Girls' Mutual Aid Home, for 25, at 85, Rumford Street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock.
9. The Howard Orphan Home for the Training of Domestic Servants, at Kendal, certified for 42.

"Those for boys consist of:

1. The Central Refuge, for 109 boys; and
2. The Emigration Training Home, for 50 boys, both in Strange-ways, Manchester.
3. The Buckley Hall School, for 244 Roman Catholic boys over seven years of age, at Buckley Hall, Rochdale.
4. St. Mark's Home, for 24 boys, at Natland, Westmoreland.

"The remaining three schools are:

1. The Manchester Deaf and Dumb Schools, for 125 boys and 75 girls, at Old Trafford, Manchester.
2. The Roman Catholic Blind Schools, for 122 of both sexes above ten years of age, at Brunswick Road, Liverpool.
3. The Leyfield Schools, for 192 Roman Catholic girls and boys under seven, at Leyfield, West Derby.

"Mr. Moorsom, who takes a lively interest in these institutions, and on whom the work connected with their inspection chiefly falls, has supplied me with the following observations upon them:

"Excluding the schools for deaf and dumb, and for blind, and also the Leyfield Schools, which were only certified towards the close of the year, the thirteen remaining institutions provide accommodation for 338 girls and 427 boys, a total of 765.

"According to the last information received, these thirteen institutions contained a total of 698 children (288 girls and 410 boys), of whom 330 children (151 girls and 179 boys) had been transferred from various workhouses to the homes, and were each being paid for by some Board of Guardians, the usual rate of payment being 5s. per week. These children were mixing in the homes with the others, many of them "waifs and strays," some few paid for by private friends or charitable persons.

"In addition to the above the large Roman Catholic schools at Leyfield, near Liverpool, which are primarily intended for the reception of Roman Catholic girls from various workhouses, will provide accommodation for 192 children, and another large building is in process of construction near Preston, intended for the reception of Roman Catholic

boys. Assuming that the Board may, on application, see fit to issue a certificate to the latter school, there will, in a few months' time, be accommodation in the "certified schools" of the district for between 1100 and 1200 children, exclusive of the blind and of the deaf and dumb. Of this large number the Roman Catholic schools will have provided for more than 70 per cent., of whom the great majority will be lodged in four large buildings.

"It is evident that the character of the training the children receive in these various homes, and the provision made, not only for their school instruction, but also for their moral education and healthy physical development, is becoming a matter of great importance. I venture to submit that the amount of medical attendance, examination, and supervision required in the larger homes is a subject which should receive the consideration of those interested in these schools. Experience has shown that it is possible, under the present system, for a condition of the eyes requiring isolation and treatment to prevail to a serious extent among the inmates of a large home without attracting the attention of those in charge.

"Apart from this, the management of the home in question is, in many respects, deserving of high praise; indeed, the kindly care bestowed upon the children in all these homes is most satisfactory, while, in some, the industrial training is of a high order. In this respect I may mention more especially the Church Home for Boys in Strangeways, Manchester, under the management of the Manchester and Salford Children's Aid Society, and the Roman Catholic Boys' Home at Buckley Hall, Rochdale. The spirit of application and self-help which is fostered in the workshops of these institutions has a marked effect upon the tone of the whole body of children.

"Replies have been obtained from five of the smaller girls' homes, which train more particularly for domestic service, to a set of queries which were addressed to the managers. From these returns it appears that the Howard Home, near Kendal, was started thirty years ago; the present matron has been in charge for eight and a half years. Two hundred and nine girls have passed through the home. With regard to forty-one girls who have left the home since the present matron's arrival, thirty-two are now in domestic service, five in factories, two are dressmakers, and one has been adopted; one has failed so far, but as she is still only twenty, there is hope for a decided improvement. The others have all started well, and their conduct has continued satisfactory up to the last accounts. There are thirty-three girls left in the home, so that the average time a girl remains in the home works out at nearly seven years.

"The West Derby Orphanage has been in existence nearly twenty-nine years, and 124 girls have passed through the home. The present matron has been in charge for nineteen years, during which time eighty-four girls have been admitted and sixty have left, twenty-four being still in the home. Thus the average time a girl remains works out at seven and a half years. Of these sixty, twenty-four are now doing well in service, and one pretty well; six did well in service, and married; one did pretty well, and married; two were returned to the workhouse as unsuited to the home, one being deficient, and the other not being an

orphan; four have been lost sight of, two of whom were doing well when last heard of, the remaining two have been adopted; one has done well as a nurse; six are now in other homes; one is in an industrial school; twelve were taken away by relations, and two have died. Thus, deducting the twelve taken away by their relations, the two returned to the workhouse, and the two who died, thirty-five are known to have done well out of forty-four, and seven may be presumed to have given more or less trouble, as they are now in other institutions; the remaining two were adopted, and about them there is no information.

"The above two homes are under the management of local committees.

"The Emigration Training Home for Girls at Cheetham Hill was opened by the Manchester and Salford Children's Aid Society in 1886. At first, little boys were received as well as girls; but, for some six years past, only two infant boys have been admitted. The present matron has been in charge five and a half years. In this period, 313 girls have been admitted; 132, of ages from five to twenty-four, have been emigrated to Canada, of whom 118 are doing well (four being comfortably married); nine have been lost sight of; two returned to England through bad health, and are now doing well; two failed, and had to return to England; and one died. The matron visited a large number of them last year, and reports have been received about the remainder from the society's officials in Canada. Of those not emigrated, forty-eight girls are doing well in service; sixty-nine have been returned to relatives able to support them; eleven are now in other institutions; nine have been lost sight of; eight absconded, and one died; and thirty-five, of ages ranging from fifteen to twenty-five, were in the home in January, 1895. A large number of the children pass only a few weeks in the home in preparation for emigration, but several, on the other hand, remain one or two years. It appears that, if we deduct the cases of death, 120 out of 131 emigrated children are known to have been doing well last year; and, out of 145 not emigrated, forty-eight are doing well in service, and sixty-nine have been sent to friends able to support them. I have seen several letters written to the matron by girls in Canada, all exhibiting an appearance of happiness in their present surroundings, and of strong affection for those who have rescued them from miserable circumstances.

"The Rossendale Girls' Home was opened by a local committee of ladies in 1890. It has had five matrons and one temporary caretaker. The present matron has been in charge for nearly one year. Seventeen girls have been received into the home, fourteen of whom are still there; one has died; one has been adopted, and is doing very well; another is in service, and is doing well. This last girl had been at two places from the workhouse, and had been returned. She was sent to the home as a troublesome case, and remained there nine months; she is now employed in the house of one of the ladies of the committee.

"The Training Home in Bolton was opened by a local committee of ladies in 1892, for four girls. There have been three matrons; the present one has been in charge nearly two years. Sixteen girls have been admitted, of whom four are now in the home; nine are in service,

one is in another home, one has returned to her relations, and one is now in the workhouse. Of those in service, six are doing well, and three moderately; the one in another home is doing well; the girl who returned to her relations, and the one now in the workhouse, have done "poorly." This tiny home is noticeable for the large proportionate number of girls that have passed through it in the short time it has been open, the average time each girl has stayed being less than one year.

"These results are on the whole fairly satisfactory. The conditions are so different that it is impossible to compare them with the returns given in Mr. Mozley's late reports upon some large separate schools under the management of Boards of Guardians in Lancashire. But one or two points call for notice. In every one of the five homes the matron has an assistant, and in the emigration home there is a laundry matron in addition; thus, in respect of staff, these homes compare favourably with the ordinary Poor Law cottage home for girls, which is usually left to the unassisted labour of the foster-mother. The children remain in the certified homes without interruption from their parents (when they have any) in many cases for several years. It is instructive to compare with this the statement of Mr. Birkby, the superintendent of the Swinton Schools belonging to the Manchester Guardians, in a paper lately read before the North-Western Poor Law Officers' Association. Mr. Birkby instances a Poor Law school where the year began with 611 children; there were admitted during the year 640, and discharged during the year 551. Of the 700 remaining at the end of the year—

441 had been in the schools 1 year or less.

94	"	"	2 years	"
53	"	"	3 "	"

and only twenty-two had been in the schools over six years. Only ninety-nine out of the whole number were orphans, and, therefore, regular scholars.

"Mr. Collingwood, master of the Salford Workhouse School, also refers to the continually taking in and out of children by their parents, by which any good work done was undone in a few weeks. His attention had been drawn to one case by the inquiries of an inspector, and he found on investigation that the boy had been in and out of the school no less than seventeen times in less than four years. The longest period he had had him in charge was between three and four months, while some periods extended over only a few days. In addition the boy had been at least another seventeen times in the probationary wards without reaching the schools. In this case the mother was the bane of the boy's existence.

"This boy had found his way into an excellent certified home, and was there brought to my notice as an instance of the bad results produced by a workhouse school; my inquiries resulted in the above discovery. No doubt there are many girls in our Poor Law schools whose training has been similarly interrupted.

"One of the most valuable features of the girls' homes is the care and trouble which is taken by the ladies of the committees, and in many cases by the matrons also, to choose a suitable place for each

girl who is sent out to service. This is a point in which Boards of Guardians, with the best intentions, frequently fail, and the result is that the poor child is returned by her new mistress with a long list of complaints, and too often with a spirit of sullen disobedience, the cure of which needs much skill, patience, and personal tenderness. It is for these unfortunate girls, who through some slight eccentricity or peculiarity have made a bad start in service, that in my opinion small certified homes are most needed; the normally endowed child as a rule does well in one of the Poor Law schools under average management. I confess to having felt a sense of inequity when on visiting a Poor Law school I have found that the best elder girls have been sent to certified homes, while the "ins and outs," the infants, the weak-minded, and the more difficult cases of every kind have remained, much to the discouragement of the teachers and caretakers."

It must be noted that in the Act of 1862 the word "school" has been construed to extend to any institution established for the instruction of blind, deaf and dumb, lame, deformed, or idiotic persons,¹ but a later Act of 1868 gave Boards of Guardians further powers with regard to idiots, the deaf and dumb, or the blind. We refer to this Act in the next section.

SECTION II. INSTITUTIONS NOT SPECIALLY CERTIFIED.

Under an Act of 1868² Guardians might with the consent of the Local Government Board send pauper idiots to asylums or establishments for the reception and relief of idiots maintained at the charge of the county rates or by public subscriptions, and also any *poor* deaf and dumb or blind³ children to schools⁴ fitted for their reception, whether certified or not.

In a circular letter to the Inspectors of the Local Government Board, dated the 23rd March, 1891, the Board drew attention to the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1889 on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, etc., with reference to their treatment in connection with Poor Law relief. The Inspectors were directed to continue to give special attention to the removal of children of these classes from the workhouses to separate institutions when such a course should seem to them to be desirable.⁵

In 1893 the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act,

¹ 15 *P. L. B.*, p. 21.

² 31 & 32 Vict. ch. 122, ss. 13 and 42.

³ See as to deaf and blind children *post*, p. 247.

⁴ Under 14 & 15 Vict. ch. 105, s. 4, and 42 & 43 Vict. ch. 54, s. 10, Boards of Guardians may subscribe towards the support and maintenance of an asylum or institution for blind or deaf and dumb persons or for any persons suffering from natural or permanent infirmity.

⁵ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 73.

which came into force on 1st January, 1894, was passed.¹ It was intended to secure better provision being made for the elementary education of blind and deaf children. For this purpose the Act makes it the duty of school authorities² either to establish or acquire and to maintain a school certified by the Education Department, or to contribute on such terms and to such extent as may be approved by that Department towards the establishment or enlargement, alteration, and maintenance of schools so certified.

The "school authorities" as defined by the Act are either (1) School Boards or (2), where there are no School Boards, the District Councils.

The Act repeals those of 1862 and 1868³ so far as they have to do with blind and deaf and dumb children who are not (a) idiots and imbeciles, or (b) resident in a workhouse or in any institution to which they have been sent by a Board of Guardians from a workhouse, or (c) boarded-out by Guardians. The effect of the Act is, therefore, to limit the powers and duties of Boards of Guardians to blind and deaf children who are under their care, or to those who are idiots or imbeciles. Previous to this Act their powers and duties extended to any *poor* children.

The Metropolis is well provided with the special institution at Darenth for the treatment of imbecile children. This asylum is under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and to it the London Boards of Guardians send all their imbecile children. The separate treatment of this class and also that of the feeble-minded is one to which the attention of Guardians has for some time been turned, so that the children who require special training and education may be brought up in other institutions than workhouses or county lunatic asylums.⁴

Thus Mr. Holgate says, writing in 1877:⁵

"Of the good service that will be effected by this training and educating pauper imbecile children there can be no doubt, for it has been clearly shown that they should be treated distinctly from other classes; that they suffer if associated with lunatics; that they ought not, unless in exceptional cases, to be associated with paupers in Union workhouses; that they materially interfere with the progress and general well-being of ordinary schools with other pauper children; and lastly, that with the special appliances and training that will now

¹ 56 & 57 Vict. ch. 42.

² Section 4.

³ See *ante*, pp. 237 and 246.

⁴ The necessity for the provision of separate accommodation is very well stated in the Report of a deputation of the Birmingham Board of Guardians appointed to inquire into the subject of the proper treatment of idiot, imbecile, and epileptic children (1897).

⁵ 6 L. G. B., p. 97.

be provided for them, many will ultimately be fit to go out into the world and earn their own livelihood, whilst in all habits of cleanliness and order can be inculcated and their unfortunate condition materially improved."

SECTION III. TRAINING-SHIPS.

The Metropolitan Poor Amendment Act, 1869,¹ enables the Guardians of any Union or parish and the managers of any school or asylum district, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to "purchase, hire, or otherwise acquire, and fit up and furnish one or more ships to be used for the training of boys for the sea-service, and every such ship shall be deemed to be a school or asylum, as the case may be, within the meaning of the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, and the several Acts therein referred to as 'The Poor Law Acts' respectively."²

There is, however, at the present time only one such training-ship. This is the *Exmouth*, which is moored in the Thames off Grays, Essex. It is now managed by the Metropolitan Asylums Board at the cost of London generally.³ Although the ship was originally intended solely for the training for the sea-service of boys chargeable to Metropolitan Unions or parishes, boys chargeable to other Unions and parishes have since 1892 been received on board.⁴ It does not appear, however, that the *extra* Metropolitan Unions have availed themselves very much of the power to send boys to the ship. She is certified for 600 boys, but the average number of them on board during the year ended Lady-day, 1895, was not more than 522.⁵

Boys are admitted to the ship subject to the regulations laid down in the Orders of the 24th August, 1876, and of the 15th June, 1892.⁶

¹ 32 & 33 Vict. ch. 63, s. 11.

² It will be observed that the Act only applies to Unions or parishes within the Metropolitan District.

³ We have seen in the introductory chapter how the *Goliath* came to be established for the training of Poor Law boys to the sea-service, and how this ship was originally the property of the Forest Gate School managers, but received boys from all parts of the Metropolis. When she was burnt in December, 1875, and was replaced by the *Exmouth*, the opportunity was taken to place the new ship under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. (See 5 *L. G. B.*, p. 5.)

⁴ See 22 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxi. The Order, which is dated the 15th June, 1892, fixes a sum of 9s. a week to be paid by other than Metropolitan Boards of Guardians for each boy sent to the ship.

⁵ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 514. Of the 522 boys only twenty-eight came from provincial Unions.

⁶ The Order of 1892 rescinds entirely Articles 2 and 3 of the Order of 1876, and also an Order (as to forms of consent) of the 13th August, 1886, while Articles 11, 12, 13, and 57 (4) of the Order of 1876 are amended in such a way that that portion

The most important conditions regulating their admission are as follows:

1. Each boy must, before admission, be pronounced by medical examination to be "free from disease and fit as regards his bodily and mental condition for training for the sea-service."¹

2. He must conform to certain standards of height and chest measurements.²

3. Unless the boy be an orphan or deserted by his parents, the written consent of the parents or parent is required.

They have to consent to "his being sent for the sea-service to the above-mentioned Metropolitan district training-ship, and upon the completion of his training to his entering the Royal Navy and engaging to serve until he shall have completed twelve years' continuous service from the age of eighteen, or to his entering the Mercantile Marine service."³

4. If the boy be sent by an *extra* Metropolitan Board of Guardians they must enter into a contract or agreement with the Board of Management in the form set out in the Order (or in one to a like effect) before he can be received on the ship;⁴ but if the boy be sent by a Metropolitan Board of Guardians, only the written consent of the Guardians is necessary.⁵

Boys are admitted to the *Exmouth* from Metropolitan Unions between the ages of 12 and 15½, and from *extra* Metropolitan Unions between the ages of 13 and 15. As a rule they have left the ship by the time they are sixteen, though the managers do not insist rigidly on a limit of age for discharge, as they regard the education of the boys on the ship as an apprenticeship, fitting them for useful work in after life.⁶

The statistics of health are remarkably good.⁶ Owing to the age at which the boys enter the ship, school work forms a comparatively small part of their duties, almost all their working time being taken up by definite training in seamanship. After passing the fourth Standard they have practically no school at all. This was the only matter for which the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools Committee had a word of criticism. The Committee were inclined to think that having regard

of the Order of 1876 and the new Order of 1892 may apply both to Metropolitan and *extra* Metropolitan Unions and parishes. The present forms of contract or agreement, of admission orders, and of the necessary consents will be found in Schedules A. B. and C. of the Order of 1892. ¹ Order of 1892, Art. I.

² The admission order contains these particulars. See Schedules B. and C. of the Order of 1892. ³ Order of 1892, Art. I., and Schedules B. and C.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Schedule A.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Schedule B.

⁶ Report of Departmental Committee, p. 119.

to the higher educational qualifications now required of skilled seamen, both in the Navy and in the Merchant Service, more attention might with advantage be given to general intellectual exercise in addition to technical seamanship.¹

The reports of experts on the training-ship are uniformly good.²

Mr. Wyndham Holgate says:³

"I am glad to say that the *Exmouth* training-ship continues to show highly creditable results, and to receive from the authorities at the Admiralty very favourable recognition of the excellence of its work. In 1894, out of an average of 590 on the books, 133 lads were discharged to the Royal Navy; 87 to the Mercantile Marine, of whom several were enrolled in the Royal Naval Reserve; 26 to the Army as musicians, one to a private situation, 54 to their respective Unions for various reasons by order of the Boards of Guardians, and two died. There were 307 admissions against the above 303 discharges.

"On the 12th June, 1894, the following entries were made in the visitors' book on board:

"I visited the *Exmouth* with much pleasure, and found this training-ship for boys in most excellent order. The ship is very clean below and on deck; the boys very clean, well-kept, and well-dressed. The drills and instructions are exceedingly well taught, and the comfort and well-being of the boys are sedulously attended to. A model training-ship.

"(Signed) D. H. BOSANQUET,
"Inspecting Captain of Royal Navy Training-ships."

"It has been a privilege and a pleasure to accompany Captain Bosanquet on this visit, and to see what has been so deservedly commended by him. Captain Bouchier's arrangements are admirable.

"(Signed) UGHTRUD K. SHUTTLEWORTH,
"Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty."

"The ship was shortly afterwards inspected by Commander Somerset, R.N., of the *Impregnable*, Naval Training-ship. His entry in the visitors' book was:

"Having heard from Captain D. H. Bosanquet of the high state of efficiency of the *Exmouth*, I have to-day had the pleasure of visiting the ship, and can fully endorse his statement. The ship is in excellent order, very clean, and well-kept; the boys very clean, well-dressed, and drill with great precision. The drills and instructions are exceedingly well taught. The boys appear to be very comfortable.

"(Signed) W. H. SOMERSET,
"Commander "Impregnable," Royal Naval Training-ship."

¹ Report of Departmental Committee, p. 120.

² See 8 *L. G. B.*, p. 151; 11 *L. G. B.*, pp. 132, 134; 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 128; 14 *L. G. B.*, p. 58; and 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 113.

³ 24 *L. G. B.*, pp. 71, 72. In his Report for 1891 Mr. Holgate prints a most interesting letter, illustrating the beneficial effects of the sound instruction given to the lads on board the ship. See 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 187.

The Departmental Committee say: "Our own personal observations left on us a strong impression of the value of the training received in the ship. The discipline, though strict, is not severe. There is an air of cheerfulness and yet of serious devotion to duty pervading the whole ship. Reasonable recreation and opportunities for going ashore are attainable by all well-conducted boys, and, on the whole, we cannot doubt that the ship, as at present conducted under the skilful management of Captain Bouchier, affords an appropriate preparation, both morally and industrially, for the *laborious* but manly and honourable profession of a sailor."¹

The success of the ship is shown by the statistics. About 300 boys are passed out annually on an average. One third of these go into the Royal Navy and another third into the Merchant Service. About 60 join the Army bands, and of the 30 or 40 only who are returned to their Unions for various reasons, the large majority have been found to be physically unfit for sea-service.²

In 1894, 133 boys entered the Royal Navy from the *Exmouth*, while the aggregate number of boys who did the same from all other mercantile training-ships in the United Kingdom was only 103. "This success is partly due to the fact that a brigantine is attached to the ship, which the boys are trained to manage themselves, under the superintendence of a master-mariner and two mates."³

In connection with the ship there is a small home on shore. "This home answers the purpose of a receiving house, and an infirmary for the isolation of any suspicious case of sickness arising on the ship."⁴

It seems remarkable that, considering the success which has attended the establishment of a "Poor Law" training-ship in the Thames, there has been no legislation by which provincial Boards of Guardians could combine together to start and manage other similar ships. The cost which the maintenance of such ships entails is probably the principal reason why no action has been taken in the matter, for the technical training which has to be provided is very expensive. Thus the average cost per boy on the *Exmouth* during the year ended Lady-day, 1894, was as follows:

Items of Expenditure.	Average cost per head per annum.		
Maintenance of the boys, including necessaries, clothing, and provisions	£	s.	d.
Salaries and maintenance of officers	17	4	3
Repairs to the ship, furniture and bedding, rates and taxes, printing and other expenses	10	1	6
	5	4	8
Total average cost per head per annum	£32	10	5

¹ Report, p. 120. We have italicised the word "*laborious*," for the use of it here in antithesis to the epithets "manly and honourable," throws light on the ideas entertained by the Departmental Committee on the subject of labour.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

A movement has, however, been started both in the North-Western and Yorkshire Poor Law Divisions for the establishment of training-ships in the Mersey and in the Humber.

Still there are a few other training-ships managed by private enterprise which will receive boys from Boards of Guardians. Such are the *Arethusa* and *Chichester* at Greenhithe, the *Warspite* at Woolwich, and the *Indefatigable* at Birkenhead.

1. *Arethusa* and *Chichester* (Greenhithe).

These training-ships are under the control of a separate committee of the "National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children." Early in 1895 the secretary of this society sent a circular letter to all Boards of Guardians stating the willingness of the society to receive boys from them. As to the conditions on which boys are received there is no strict rule, but they must be well-grown and healthy, have good eyesight and hearing, and be of good character.¹ As to age, they are generally received from thirteen and a half to sixteen. The Navy paper must be signed by the boy and by his parent or guardian, as well as a form used by the society, which expresses their desire that the boy should join the Navy, if possible, or failing that, enter the Merchant Service.

No fixed charge is made to Boards of Guardians for the maintenance and training of pauper boys, but the society being merely a charity, several Unions sending boys subscribe to its funds in return for their being received.

The present superintendent of the ships is Captain Moore, R.N., and he has kindly supplied us with the above information.

He adds:

"I wish to state in conclusion that the workhouse boys have proved the most satisfactory I have had to deal with. There is not one really bad case among the whole number, and they are bright, willing, intelligent, and well-mannered. . . . I am exceedingly fond of my workhouse boys, and would like some more of them."

The total number of boys received in the training-ships from Boards of Guardians during 1895 and 1896 was forty-three. These are accounted for as follows: Entered Royal Navy, eleven; entered Merchant Service, twelve; entered training-ship *Worcester* as a steward, one; sent back to Unions as unfit, six; still on board, thirteen. The boys come from Unions in every part of the country.

¹ Convicted cases, or those who have been in a Reformatory or Industrial School (except truant schools), are not accepted.

2. *Warspile* (Woolwich).

This training-ship belongs to the "Marine Society" (Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.). Boys are received from Boards of Guardians on payment of a fee of £7 7s. between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Their height must be four feet ten inches *without shoes*. They are sent, after being trained on board, to serve in the Royal Navy or in the Merchant Service.

3. *Indefatigable* (Birkenhead).

This training-ship has a large number of boys on board sent by Boards of Guardians (mostly in Lancashire and Cheshire). Boys are admitted between the ages of twelve and fifteen, and must be four feet six inches in height at thirteen. They have to be medically examined and certified as physically fit for sea life, perfect in sight and limb particularly. They are generally medically examined by the medical officer of the ship before being passed on board the ship, but the committee, for the sake of convenience, often accept the report of the Guardians' medical officers as sufficient. The charge to Boards of Guardians for each boy is 5s. per week, and £6 for outfit when the boys go to sea. The boys are apprenticed to the commander of the ship for a term of three years, and if they are in a high Standard, such as the fifth or over, they are seldom kept longer than two and a half years.¹ It is an excellently-managed institution.

There are several other training-ships for boys, but they are most of them established for boys committed by magistrates' order under the Industrial Schools Act or the Elementary Education Act, 1876. Some few, however, receive boys who are not so committed upon a payment of £20 per annum in advance, such as the *Formidable* (Bristol), the *Clio* (Bangor), and the *Wellesley* (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

Mr. Baldwyn Fleming refers in his Report for 1894 to the *Mercury* training-ship, on the river Hamble, as having been certified by the Local Government Board for the reception of pauper boys. He says:²

"For many years I have been anxious that there should be a training-ship in the district. Long ago I endeavoured to obtain one by arrangement between the great sea-coast Unions, but technical

¹ From information kindly supplied to me by Captain Bremner. In a letter dated the 21st December, 1896, he says: "We have now vacancies for twenty boys, and it is a splendid opportunity of disposing of them, as ships are found for them when ready for sea."

² 24 L. G. B., p. 38.

objections stood in the way.¹ There are many pauper boys, difficult to dispose of satisfactorily otherwise, for whom a sea life opens an excellent and happy future, and nowhere could such boys be better found or trained than on the *Mercury*. This ship is a beautiful one, and is supplemented by a separate floating hospital, and by every kind of appliance on shore, both for instruction and amusement. No healthy boy who can tell the truth, or learn to tell the truth, need look for a better life and training than he would find on board the *Mercury*. The Poor Law Authorities do not yet seem to realise the value of the institution thus placed at their disposal, and less than twenty of the *Mercury* boys are at present paid for by Guardians. Some apprehension may exist on the score of expense, as the Board have authorised a payment up to £20 per annum, which, by the by, does not even cover the costs.

"The usual course of training takes three years, and costs £60. Guardians think that they can keep a boy for about £12 a year. The difference, therefore, amounts to £24 in three years, and for the £24 the boy's future is practically assured, as Captain Superintendent Hoare rarely fails to place his boys so advantageously that they need trouble the rates no more."

There can, we think, be no doubt that Boards of Guardians might advantageously pay more attention than they do at present to the training of pauper boys to the sea-service in the way we have been considering. There are many healthy lads who come under the control of the Guardians who are just suited for a sea life, and by getting them trained for it Guardians will not only be serving their country by acting as recruiting sergeants for a noble service, but they will be adding to the amount of its skilled labour, for which a demand always exists. They will also ensure the boys being completely depauperised.

SECTION IV.

SENDING CHILDREN TO SCHOOLS OF OTHER UNIONS.

The power of sending children chargeable to one Union to the schools of another Union is not nearly so much exercised by Boards of Guardians as it might be. Boards of Guardians are very averse as a rule to parting with their children. We have already noticed how this feeling is exhibited in the boarding-out of children. Guardians prefer to board them out in their own Unions rather than to entrust them to Boarding-out Committees under the Boarding-out Order.² Still the power is utilised in a few cases, and with beneficial

¹ We have seen (*ante*, p. 248) that legislation is required to enable Boards of Guardians outside the Metropolis to establish training-ships.

² *Ante*, p. 205.

results to each Union concerned. The section of the Act authorising the practice is as follows :¹

"Where in any union or parish there shall be a workhouse or building having adequate provision for the reception, maintenance, and education of poor children, and there shall be more accommodation therein at any time than the guardians of such union or parish shall require for the poor children of their own union or parish, such guardians may, with the consent of the Poor Law Board,² contract with the guardians of any other union or parish . . . for the reception, maintenance, and instruction therein of any poor children under the age of sixteen years chargeable to such other union or parish, or to any parish in such other union, being orphans or deserted by their parents, or whose parents or surviving parent shall consent ; and such last-mentioned children while at such workhouse or other building shall be maintained and instructed in the same manner in all respects as the children of the union or parish to which such workhouse or other building shall belong, and shall be subject to the control and management of the guardians of such union or parish, or their officers, in like manner as if such children were chargeable to such union or parish, provided always that the abiding of any such child in any such workhouse or building shall in all other respects be attended with the same legal consequences as if such workhouse or building had been situated within the union or parish from which such child shall have been sent."³

¹ 14 & 15 Vict. ch. 105, s. 6, as extended by 29 & 30 Vict. ch. 113, s. 16.

² Now the Local Government Board.

³ See remarks of Mr. Byam Davies as to the practice, *ante*, p. 174.

CHAPTER X.

EMPLOYMENT

THE object of the education and training given in Poor Law institutions, as in other schools, is to put the children in a position to support themselves in after life. In spite of the severe criticisms which have been made of late years on the education and training which children receive under the Poor Law, and notably in Metropolitan schools, by the Departmental Committee, there cannot be the least doubt that the very large majority of those children who have been long enough in the schools to get the full benefit of the education and training given there have been converted from paupers into self-supporting, honest, and hardworking men and women. In support of this statement it is unnecessary to give more statistics than we have already done in previous chapters.¹ The argument used by Mr. J. S. Davy on this point is to our mind conclusive:

"It is frequently alleged with much assurance, and in spite of clouds of witnesses to the contrary, that children who are educated at a workhouse school generally return to the workhouse and make it their home, and past experience makes it probable that the allegation will continue to be made and to be believed. Misrepresentations of this kind must be endured, however mischievous they may be; but it is curious that it has never struck the people who make them that if their statements were true the workhouses would be full of able-bodied inmates. As a matter of fact, the number of able-bodied paupers is extremely small, either in or out of the workhouse, and they are for the most part either widows with children or deserted wives."²

The fact is that Boards of Guardians and school managers have little difficulty in finding situations and occupations for both boys and girls on their leaving school. As to girls, the demand for them exceeds the supply, as they are found to possess qualities such as honesty and habits of cleanliness, which are often absent from children of the same class who have been brought up in the ordinary home. It is much more a question, indeed, whether the advantages which

¹ See *ante*, pp. 61-70, and pp. 125-131.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 25.

Poor Law children have, do not unfairly compete with the education which an ordinary poor child can get; but this objection will not hold water. What is everywhere wanted is more *skilled* labour. This the Poor Law schools ought to be able to supply. As a matter of fact, where children have been long enough in the schools to receive the full benefit of a good industrial training, they do supply it. Of unskilled labour there is already too much, and it is recruited to a very large extent from the country villages, where the children have not the same opportunities of getting an industrial training as the *permanent* children in a Poor Law school have.

We shall first deal with the question of employment for girls only; secondly, with that of emigration, which is suitable for both boys and girls; and thirdly, with methods of disposing of boys by apprenticeship and otherwise.

SECTION I. MODES OF DISPOSING OF GIRLS.

The vast majority of Poor Law girls go into domestic service after leaving the schools,¹ but in the manufacturing districts a great many of them go to the mills. There is never any difficulty in finding them places. They generally go out between the ages of fourteen and fifteen.²

There are four main points which Guardians should attend to in sending out the girls into service:³

1. That they have received the necessary preparatory training;
2. That the situations they go to are suitable ones;
3. That they get proper wages; and
4. That they are visited and looked after in their situations, until they are old enough to fight their own battles.

It is the practice now in the best schools to give the girls who are about to leave for service special industrial training to fit them for it, and to let them for a few months before they leave have a room to themselves apart from the other girls. Mr. Mozley in his Report for 1883 tells us that at Lincoln the girls during the interval between their workhouse life and their entering on domestic service, were specially instructed in household industry in a certified home and in connection with the Girls' Friendly Society.⁴ Guardians might, indeed, make much more use of such training homes as this. Mrs. Nassau Senior very sensibly remarked that "a girl is not

¹ Thus out of 464 girls belonging to Metropolitan Unions, who were placed out during the year 1895 from the Poor Law or certified schools, no fewer than 459 went into domestic service, the other five going out as dressmakers or needlewomen. (See 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 316.)

² See *post*, p. 286.

³ See also the Order of the 10th July, 1897, set out in Appendix I, *post*, p. 421.

⁴ 13 *L. G. B.*, p. 122.

necessarily a better woman because she knows the height of all the mountains in Europe, and can work out a fraction in her head, but she is decidedly better fitted for the duties she will be called upon to perform in life if she knows how to wash and tend a child, cook simple food well, and thoroughly clean a house. To do these duties really well needs not only intelligence but special training."¹ There is no reason why any girl should leave a Poor Law school ignorant of any of these matters. We have shown, for instance, how all these points are attended to at the Hornchurch Cottage Homes.² Even in "barrack" schools the girls from the body of the school assist in the care of the small children.³ Miss M. Clifford, in her evidence before the Departmental Committee,⁴ describes how the girls are trained for domestic service in the detached school at Barton Regis.

"We have a small kitchen," she says, "such as they have in those small houses to which they go, and our little girls learn to cook the dinner—a few of them, that is. Those who are old enough are taught to be cooks as far as girls of thirteen and fourteen years of age can be cooks. They also wait on the mistress and other school officers. They learn to clean a room, and so on. Also we have a little laundry—a small place, with no machinery—and they learn simple washing in that way. Both half-timers and whole-timers are all doing something, and we consider that that makes up to a certain extent for the industrial training they get in a good boarded-out home. You see a good mother would teach her child these things. We try to make up in that way."

If Guardians will only take a little trouble in this matter of training, they will find that their girls would "make a better success as servants than ten out of twelve educated at the public elementary schools in the kingdom."⁵ Indeed, the inquiries instituted by the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants show that the "school" girls are preferred to the "local" girls by their employers.⁶

¹ 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 319.

² *Ante*, p. 146.

³ Mrs. Nassau Senior suggested (3 *L. G. B.*, pp. 318, 319) that some of the Metropolitan schools should be set apart as infant establishments, by which two things would be gained: (1) they would be excellent training-places for girls for a year or two before going into service; and (2) they would allow of the physical needs of the infants being well attended to. She tells how at one of the large schools a separate block of new buildings had recently been set apart as an infant department, where children up to five years of age were placed under the care of nurses, assisted by girls from the body of the school. From the nursery they passed to the infant school (still in a separate block), where girls remained till seven years old, and boys till ten.

⁴ Evidence, Q. 11,056.

⁵ See evidence of Mr. Wyndham Holgate before the Departmental Committee, Q. 15,608.

⁶ See *post*, p. 361. We cannot wonder at the eagerness of mistresses to obtain their servants from a well-managed Poor Law school in preference to the ordinary girls.

If the girls were to have this special training previously to leaving the schools, the complaints of their being dull, mechanical, and of sullen temper would not be so often heard.

The next point to be attended to in order to ensure the success of the girls is that they should be sent to suitable situations. In London the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants sees to this, and takes charge of the children on their leaving the school, and the Girls' Friendly Society does the same work, but to a less extent, in the provinces. But there is reason to believe that many Boards of Guardians are apt to accede to the first application for a girl for service. The applicant "visits the school, inspects the children of eligible age, and makes a selection. The fact is reported to the Board of Guardians, who send their relieving officer to visit the proposed master and mistress, and inspect the house. The relieving officer has probably never seen the child since it was sent to the schools some years previously, if even then, and he is therefore scarcely able to form an opinion as to the suitability of the child for the situation proposed. Yet upon his report the Guardians base their decision, whilst those in whose care the child has been brought up have no voice in the matter. There is also the disadvantage that the visit of the relieving officer reveals to the other servants the girl's pauper origin."¹

Such a practice is likely soon to become a thing of the past, now that so many ladies have seats upon Boards of Guardians and on School Committees. They naturally understand the difficulties and trials of a young girl when placed in her first situation.

The necessity for care in the choice of a situation must be apparent to anyone who gives a moment's thought to the subject, and the amount of it should be at least as much as would be taken by respectable parents of the working class. It must also be remembered that a girl may fail in her first situation quite as much owing to the fault of the mistress as on the score of her own shortcomings. As Mr. Birkby says in his interesting paper:²

"It would be a good thing if we could have a gauge to test the temperature, condition of the liver, and the general fitness of some mistresses before they are entrusted with girls as servants. A girl of

Considering the extraordinary ignorance which prevails generally among the working-classes as to cooking and laundry work, there would not probably be one woman in fifty who could teach her child to do these things really well, even if she attempted to do so.

¹ Report of Departmental Committee, p. 61.

² Paper read before the North-Western Poor Law Officers' Association at Manchester, 1896.

fourteen years is but a child, and I am afraid she is expected to do what an older servant cannot do and wouldn't do. Girls at this age require training; given fair play, and treated as human beings, our girls will and do make excellent servants."

Then Boards of Guardians should never allow a girl to go into anybody's service unless she receives adequate wages. What these wages should be must, of course, depend upon the particular district. Mr. Mozley, in impressing this point on Guardians, referred to a Yorkshire Union as a satisfactory instance:¹

"I was pleased the other day to hear from the matron of the Mallow Union that the Guardians never send out a girl to service there without bargaining that she shall receive at least £3 per annum wages, and that they try to get £4 per annum for her. The consequence is that the girls often have money in the Post Office Savings Bank, a very desirable thing for their future welfare."

The wages which the managers of the London Poor Law Schools insist on their children getting when they first go into service range from £5 to £8, in addition to board, lodging, washing, and medical attendance.

From the North Surrey District Schools at Anerley no girl is allowed to take any situation where less than two servants are kept. This fact speaks volumes for the efficient training which they receive in these schools.

The conditions under which a girl is sent out to service from the Swinton Schools will be found in the next chapter,² where we also deal with the fourth point which Guardians should consider, namely, the visiting of the girls in their situations until they arrive at an age when they can protect themselves.

The Departmental Committee draw attention to the fact that domestic service, though undoubtedly the most appropriate form of employment for the majority of Poor Law girls, is not the only kind of useful industry now accessible to them in the markets of the world. "Of late years many new ways have been opened whereby young women who have had a fair elementary education may earn an honourable living. Type-writing, the use of the sewing-machine, telegraphy, book-keeping, the cutting out of articles of clothing, various forms of art and decorative work requiring a knowledge of drawing, all these and many more employments of the kind, offer opportunities of useful and remunerative industry; and we cannot doubt that some of these, if *systematically* taught, would increase the

¹ 21 L. G. B., p. 179.

² *Pass*, p. 293.

value of the schools and the number of chances open to the girls when the period of chargeability to the Guardians expires."¹

Thus, according to the last Report of the Banstead Schools, of forty-one girls sent out to employment during the three years ended Michaelmas, 1895, only four were sent to other than domestic service, viz., two as dressmakers and two to a laundry. If the suggestion of the Committee is followed, Guardians, of course, must be prepared to keep girls longer in the schools than they do now, in order to teach them something of the trades enumerated. This would necessarily imply a considerable increase of expenditure, and so long as Guardians find no difficulty in finding situations in domestic service for girls, they will naturally, as representatives of ratepayers, not feel themselves justified in incurring the extra expense.

SECTION II. EMIGRATION.

There is another mode of disposing of girls as well as of boys, and that is by means of emigration.

Boards of Guardians do not, however, seem to use their powers to emigrate children to any large extent. During the year 1895, 246 orphan and deserted children were sent out to Canada at a total cost to the poor rates of £2917.² As on every other question, there have always been two different views with regard to emigration. In his Report for 1878 Mr. Holgate wrote as follows:³

"My own view has always been that a system which only undertakes to provide for the picked few, those who, being physically and mentally the best specimens of the class, are equally certain of a prosperous future in their own country, cannot be heartily supported by those who have to deal with the question as a whole, and who have to consider how to provide for all classes of children, whatever their bodily and intellectual capacities may be."

And then Mr. Holgate goes on to show what a check the system had received at the time by the complaints of the impossibility of finding

¹ Report, p. 61. But if the girls are to succeed in such employments, these industries must not only be *systematically* taught, but really well taught. We are by no means certain that the market is not already overstocked with girls who have acquired some knowledge of these accomplishments. Surely it is better that the Poor Law Schools should direct their special attention to turning out well-trained, useful domestic servants, for whom there is a never ceasing demand at good wages.

² 25 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxviii. During the year 1894, 299 children were emigrated at a cost of £3578. (See 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 103.) Under 13 & 14 Vict. ch. 101, s. 4, only orphan and deserted children can be emigrated. The power to emigrate poor families was given by 4 & 5 Will. IV. ch. 76, s. 62, and was extended by 11 & 12 Vict. ch. 110, s. 5, and 12 & 13 Vict. ch. 103, s. 20. (See 3 *P.L.B.*, p. 15.)

³ 8 *L. G. B.*, p. 152.

places for the children sent. Canada was then, as it is now, the great field for emigration, but as showing how necessary it is that it should be very strictly regulated, as it is now under the Regulations of 1888, Mr. Holgate prints in his Report the following letter which had been addressed to the Chairman of the Board of Guardians of St. George's (Hanover Square):¹

"OFFICE OF ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY,
"7, LOUISA STREET, TORONTO.
"8th August, 1878.

"SIR,—The enclosed item of a printed statement that twenty young girls were to be offered by the Board to Miss Rye² to take out to Canada at the end of this month I have cut out from the *Toronto Globe* of this date. I fill the position (and have done so for many years) of honorary executive officer of the above society, and am well known to Miss Rye and other kindred ladies. I beg leave most respectfully to offer to you my most solemn protest against the continuance of Miss Rye's work, which is keeping this country overflowing with pauperism. Our boys' and girls' homes are filled to repletion, because situations cannot be found for the children. There are families upon families in our cities—men, women, boys, and girls—in destitution and want for lack of employment, and there are hundreds longing to get back to England. Yesterday I had applications from five families for assistance to return, and I assisted three of them, viz., a man, woman, and six children; a man, woman, and three children; and a man and two girls. As to Government inspection or attention to cases of want, it is the veriest nonsense to talk of it, for even at the present time immigrants (few as they are) are just kept at the Government sheds forty-eight hours, and then turned adrift. If Miss Rye is sincere in her work as a philanthropist, and Canada is the country she wishes to serve, let her assist us first in disposing of our superabundant boys and girls; and then, should the need arise to import some from England, I will (D.V.) be ready again to assist her. In the meantime I must respectfully beg of you not to encourage her in the matter.

"I have the honour to be your very obedient servant,

"(Signed) J. E. PELL,

"To the Chairman of the Board."

Hon. Secretary.

Although the statement made in this letter may be somewhat over-coloured, it explains why Guardians should not be over-anxious to emigrate the children, especially as they find they have so little difficulty in disposing of them in other ways. But since the Regulations of 1888 came into force the reports upon the children emigrated

¹ 8 L. G. B., p. 152.

² Miss Maria S. Rye was one of the first in the field to organize the emigration of children.

have been very favourable.¹ In 1892 we find that the Local Government Board commented on these reports as follows :²

"The children are reported to be generally contented and well cared for, and the greater number of their homes to be free from objection. Though in many cases reference is made to the faults in the character, disposition, or habits of the children, there appear to be comparatively few instances where the foster-parents have expressed an intention to part with them in consequence. The reports show that in some of the cases the children and their foster-parents have become greatly attached to each other; and that in others the foster-parents take an unselfish and parental interest in the present and future welfare of the children committed to their keeping. There are somewhat fewer cases than formerly in which children are said to have been adopted, but it is apparent, both from the present and former reports, that the system of adoption does not in Canada necessarily imply that the foster-parent accepts once for all the care of a child as his own. With regard to five homes only the reports are not favourable, and in two of these the children are stated to have been 'not well used' and 'not well treated or sufficiently fed.' The Immigration Officers have reported unfavourably upon the bodily or mental condition of eight of the children, and one of these children has been returned to England as insane. These reports show that for the most part children are placed out on the understanding that they will be boarded, clothed, and educated until they attain the age of fifteen years, after which time they are paid wages at the rate of three or four dollars per month. They also show that the homes in Canada connected with the various emigration societies are of great assistance in connection with the welfare and supervision of the children. Children who are dissatisfied, ill, or in unsatisfactory homes, appear to be frequently received back into these homes, whence they are again placed out after having received further training or medical treatment, as may be necessary."

But how necessary it is that greater precautions should be taken to secure that the Poor Law children get into good homes is shown by the evidence of Major Gretton, the Hon. Secretary of the East End Emigration Fund, before the Departmental Committee.³ Thus :

"At one place in Montreal, which he describes as a 'charity doss-house,' he found two forlorn little boys—one from Sutton Schools and the other from Yarmouth. These children had been taken to Canada by an agent, and left in Montreal absolutely unprovided for. Major Gretton describes the outfit which had been supplied to the children—an outfit quite unsuitable, he says, for a Canadian winter.

"At the Protestant Orphan Asylum he found two boys who had been taken out the year before by the same agent from the Cottage Homes at Wednesfield. The lady superintendent of the Asylum informed him that these children had been found by the police to be straying

¹ See 18 *L. G. R.*, pp. xcvi., 175-202; 21 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxiv.; 22 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxviii. ² 21 *L. G. B.*, p. lxxxiv. ³ Quoted on p. 132 of the Report.

about the streets. He also found the sister of one of these boys at a drinking-shop in Montreal.

"The agent who took out these children professed to have places ready for them, but Major Gretton was informed by the manager of the lodging-house in which he found the boys, that before their arrival the agent inserted advertisements in the newspapers begging anyone to come and take the children out of charity."

The object of the agent was, no doubt, to make money out of the transaction. Such breakdowns occur sometimes, and possibly afford another reason why Boards of Guardians are not very keen to let the children go beyond their control, for once the children are emigrated this control is lost.

Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., stated before the Departmental Committee that the Canadian farmers were quite willing to receive emigrated children.

"A great many Canadian farmers," he said, "have no children in their own homes; they marry early, the children grow up, they settle in life very early, they go away from home. You very often find a couple living alone, their children having left them, and they feel very dull, not having anyone in the house, and they are very glad to have children for company."¹ The Departmental Committee add: "There is also a scarcity of labour in Canada. Food is cheap, house-room available, and the children can perform such light domestic duties and farm operations as will abundantly compensate for the cost of their maintenance."²

But although the reports on emigrated children are generally favourable at the present time, Mr. Holgate's objection seems to us to have great force. "Why," he says in effect, "should we send away our best children when they are just those who are wanted and do well at home?" And Mr. Birkby says:

"There is an idea in the minds of some people that Boards of Guardians by paying, say £10, could ship off the children to Canada, a colony, they say, which is continually asking for such children. As a matter of fact, very few of our children fulfil all the conditions required. The child must be strong and healthy in every respect. The fittest children only can go, and these are just the children that have in them the promise to make healthy men and women. If such are emigrated we are simply making the country doubly the worse off. The weakly child stays, grows up weakly, possibly unable to earn his own living, and his fellow, fit and well, is producing for another country. If we could

¹ Evidence before Departmental Committee, Q. 16,234. It must be mentioned that Mr. Smith said emphatically that the children must be *properly trained* before being sent out. *Ibid.*

² Report, p. 131.

send some of the weakly ones it might be the making of them, and no Board would stand in the way on the ground of expense."¹

This is of course the argument that emigration robs England of its best citizens. But we must not be tempted into a discussion on the point.

Orphan and deserted children can be emigrated by Boards of Guardians up to the age of sixteen years, but the Local Government Board do not recommend girls to be emigrated above the age of ten years, "and in no case, except under very special circumstances, above the age of twelve years."²

They cannot be emigrated without their consent, which has to be given before two Justices, under 13 & 14 Vict. ch. 101, s. 4, who have to sign a certificate that such consent has been given, which certificate must be transmitted to the Local Government Board. The sanction of the Board must also be obtained. This will not be given unless the conditions laid down by the Board are observed. The present mode of procedure has been shortly stated by the Departmental Committee as follows:³

"Boards of Guardians desiring to secure the emigration of orphan or deserted children under their care, place themselves in communication with an agent willing to undertake the duty of making the necessary arrangements. The Guardians are required by the Local Government Board to satisfy themselves that the agent selected has a reasonable prospect of finding suitable homes for the children, and the agent must give an assurance that he will furnish the Guardians with the names and addresses of the persons to whom the children are to be entrusted, who must be of the same religious denomination as that of the children's parents. The children are examined before starting by the Guardians' medical officer, and if they are certified to be in good bodily health and of fair average intelligence, they are consigned to the agent, who is responsible for all arrangements as to the voyage, the reception of the children on arrival, and their subsequent settlement. It is customary for the Guardians to pay the agent a sum per child for the emigration expenses, which sum includes the fare to the port of embarkation, the ocean passage money, the kit and bedding, the railway fare from the landing place to the receiving home, the cost of maintenance therein, and the necessary outfit for clothing. These expenses averaged in 1894 the sum of £11 19s. 4d. per child.⁴ The one weak point of the present system of emigrating Poor Law children seems to be that the reporting on them is inadequate. The Regulations should make some better provision for this defect.

¹ Paper by Mr. Birkby, read before the North-Western Poor Law Officers' Association at Manchester, 1896.

² Regulations of 1888. See Appendix C, p. 403.

³ Report, p. 131. For the Regulations of which this statement is a summary, see *post*, Appendix C, p. 403.

⁴ And in 1895, £11 17s. 2d. per child.

"The immigration officers are supposed to make an annual report, but as a matter of fact we (*i.e.*, the Local Government Board) do not receive more than one report on each child. They report on a child a year after its arrival in Canada, and after it has been placed in a situation; but we have not hitherto received second reports on the same child."¹

The suggestion of the Departmental Committee² that each Poor Law child intended to be emigrated should be sent to a certified training home for at least six months previously to its being emigrated, seems to us a good one. It is impossible to deny that there is a prejudice in Canada against children who have come direct from the hands of the Guardians, and although at the present day such a prejudice has no foundation, it must be taken into account.³ By placing these children before their emigration in such homes, the distinction made between them and other children—an entirely imaginary one—would not be thought of.

Before concluding this section there is one point which we must not neglect to mention, and which might be an inducement to Guardians to emigrate more children, or at any rate to advertise their intention to emigrate them. The effect of such advertisements has been to cause parents or relations who had been keeping in modest retirement to suddenly put in an appearance and remove the children altogether from the schools. Thus Mr. Kennedy tells us that:

"Among some of the more popular Yorkshire Unions, proposals to largely exercise the existing powers of the emigration of pauper children to Canada was taken up seriously during 1888; but it turned out, when steps were actually begun to carry out this scheme, that the idea of sending the orphans away to a foreign land is most distasteful to the labouring classes, and the project has in consequence been abandoned. In a few cases 'orphans' of long standing, when on the eve of departure, turned out to possess parents in the 'aunt' or 'uncle' who had left the children chargeable to the rates for years, but whom the triumph of parental instinct constrained to claim their offspring when emigration to Canada was proposed.⁴ After a time, no doubt, the Guardians might be asked to take the children, or some of them, back into the schools, but at least the removal of the children would be strong evidence that their parents or relations were quite able to maintain them."

Another way of disposing of boys is by apprenticeship.

¹ Evidence of Mr. Knollys before the Departmental Committee, Q. 16,170.

² Report, p. 138.

³ The Regulations of the Canadian Government draw a marked distinction between children taken out from charitable homes in England, and those from English work-houses. See Appendix C, p. 403, for these Regulations, etc.

⁴ 18 *L. G. B.*, p. 141.

SECTION III. APPRENTICESHIP.

Both boys and girls can be apprenticed to ordinary trades under an Act of 1844¹ and the General Consolidated Order of 1847; and boys can be apprenticed into the merchant or fishing service under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894,² or be entered into the Royal Navy under the Admiralty Regulations of March, 1889.

(a) APPRENTICESHIP TO ORDINARY TRADES.

The Act under which children are apprenticed to ordinary trades was passed in 1844. It empowered the Poor Law Commissioners to prescribe the terms and conditions of the apprenticeship. These were laid down in the General Consolidated Order of the 24th July, 1847, Articles 52-74, under the following heads:

Parties. (1) No child under the age of nine years, and no child (other than a deaf and dumb child) who cannot read and write his own name may be bound apprentice. (Art. 52.)

(2) A child can only be apprenticed to persons over twenty-one years of age, and who are housekeepers, or assessed to the poor rates in their own names. It cannot be apprenticed to journeymen, nor to any persons not carrying on trade or business on their own account, nor to married women. (Art. 53.)

The Premium. (1) No premium, except in clothing, may be given upon the binding of any apprentice over sixteen years of age, unless he or she be certified by a medical practitioner to be maimed, deformed, or suffering from some permanent bodily infirmity, and so unfit for certain trades or sorts of work. The Guardians must cause a copy of the certificate to be entered on their minutes before proceeding to execute the indenture. (Arts. 54 and 63.)

(2) The premium given on the apprenticing of anyone under sixteen years of age must be partly in clothes and partly in money. As to the clothes, they must be supplied to the apprentice at the commencement of the binding; and as to the money, half must be paid to the master at the binding and the other half at the end of the first year of the binding. (Art. 55.)

The Term. No apprentice can be bound by the Guardians for longer than eight years (Art. 56), and in all cases the binding ceases to

¹ 7 & 8 Vict. ch. 101. See sections 12 and 13.

² 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60, ss. 105-109, and ss. 392-398. This Act repeals 17 & 18 Vict. ch. 104, and 46 & 47 Vict. ch. 41.

be valid after he or she has attained the age of twenty-one years. (18 Geo. III. ch. 47.)¹

The Consent. The consent of the child to its apprenticeship is only necessary when it is over fourteen years of age; but, until the child is sixteen years old, the consent of the father (if alive) or of the mother (if the father be dead or disqualified as mentioned in the Order,² or if the child be a bastard) must always be obtained.

Place of Service. This must not be more than thirty miles distant from the place the child came from at the time of its being housed or sent on trial as an apprentice; unless the Local Government Board allow it to be placed out at a greater distance away. (Art. 58.)

Preliminaries to the binding. Whether the child be apprenticed from the workhouse or not, it must, if it is under the age of fourteen years, be certified by medical examination to be of such bodily health and strength as will fit it for the trade or business to which it is to be apprenticed. (Arts. 59-62.)

When this certificate has been given both child and master (or some person on behalf of the master), and, if the child be under sixteen, the parent or person in whose custody it is, must attend before the Board of Guardians for the purpose of being questioned, and for the execution of the indenture. If the master cannot be present the indenture is sent to him for execution before being executed by the Guardians and signed by the child. (Arts. 64 and 65.)³

The Indenture. This must be executed in duplicate by the Guardians and the master, and signed by the apprentice with his name or (if deaf and dumb) with his mark, and the consent of the parent when required must be testified by his signing with his name or mark at the foot of the indenture. One part of the indenture is to be kept by the Guardians and the other by the master. (Arts. 67-69.)

The duties of the master. The master enters into the following covenants under the indenture. He engages to teach the apprentice his trade; to house, feed, and clothe him; to procure him medical or surgical attendance when necessary; to see that he attends divine service at least once every Sunday, and according to the religious persuasion to which he belongs; to allow him to attend a Sunday or other school within the parish, or in case there is no such school

¹ The Poor Law Board gave it as their opinion that this Act had not been repealed either expressly or by implication by 7 & 8 Vict. ch. 101, s. 12 (9 Off. Clr. 1. 18).

² See Macmorran's and Lushington's *Poor Law Orders*, 1st edit., p. 79 and p. 80 (note a).

³ As to when the master resides in another Union to that of the child, see Art. 66.

accessible (*i.e.* when it is outside the parish and more than two miles from his residence) to allow any minister of the same religious persuasion as the apprentice to give him religious instruction on Sundays; to pay the apprentice after the age of seventeen the proper remuneration for his services; to produce the apprentice to the Guardians from time to time;¹ and not to let him work without the leave of the Guardians more than ten miles from the place or places mentioned in the indenture. (Art. 70.)

Such are, stated as shortly as possible, the main provisions of the Order which apply both to girl and boy apprentices, and to male or female "masters." The indentures of apprenticeship must be drawn in accordance with these provisions. Before commenting on them we may mention that any master wilfully refusing to perform the terms and conditions of an indenture of apprenticeship is liable to forfeit any sum under £20;² that he is liable to penalties or imprisonment for ill-using or neglecting his apprentice;³ and that the sections of the Employers and Workmen Act, 1875, relating to disputes between apprentices and their masters apply to pauper apprentices.⁴

It will be evident to anyone who knows anything about the condition of various trades at the present time, that the terms of the Order make it very difficult to apprentice children. The Order seems, therefore, to require careful revision. "The principal obstacle is the stipulation that the master shall maintain the child with proper food and nourishment, and shall provide a proper lodging for him."⁵ The Departmental Committee refer to a correspondence which passed between the Local Government Board and the City of London Board of Guardians relating to a boy whom the Guardians wished to apprentice to a respectable firm of printers, and who were prevented from doing so by the provisions of the Order, which did not allow the boy to live at home with his mother.⁶ It is, of course, not a sufficient answer to say that what was the loss to this boy was the gain to another one. The Guardians were disappointed in the failure of their endeavours to get their boys into skilled trades.

In a case known to us, which was that of a crippled boy over sixteen, a Guardian had found a respectable working tailor who was willing to take him as an apprentice, but who was not able to receive him into his house, as there was no room for him. Nor could he afford to pay for his lodging and maintenance elsewhere.

¹ See Art. 70, No. 9.

² 7 & 8 Vict. ch. 101, s. 12.

³ 24 & 25 Vict. ch. 100, s. 26, and 38 & 39 Vict. ch. 86, s. 6.

⁴ 38 & 39 Vict. ch. 90, ss. 5-7, 12.

⁵ Report of Departmental Committee, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

He was, therefore, not in a position to execute the indenture. The Guardians, too, were naturally unwilling to pay the necessary 10s. a week which was required for the premium, and for the boy's board and lodging. Eventually the Guardians got over the difficulty (whether they acted legally or not is another question) by granting outdoor relief to the boy, various charitable persons consenting to make up the balance of the total amount required. This relief was paid by the relieving officer to the rector of the parish, who received the voluntary contributions, and who also undertook the responsibility of making the necessary weekly payments for board and lodging.

The boy, who had up to then made a precarious living by selling nuts, etc., in the village, was thus set in the way of earning his own living, is giving great satisfaction to the tailor, and has nearly £1 of his own in the Savings Bank. He bids fair to earn his £1 10s. or £1 15s. a week when his apprenticeship is over. The difficulty was, of course, partly caused by the Guardians not taking him in hand sooner, and getting him, when young, into a training home for crippled boys; but still, as the case stood, had not an unusual amount of charitable help been forthcoming, and had not the Guardians been ready to strain the law, the boy would still be selling his nuts, with no future before him but the workhouse.

We are not so much in agreement, however, with the Departmental Committee in their recommendation that the form of indenture should "be revised so as to omit all reference to the fact that the child has been a pauper."¹ This recommendation, like so many others which are made in the Report, betrays the "pauper taint" prejudice, and there was, so far as we can perceive, no evidence given to the Committee to show that the Poor Law indenture was at all against an apprentice in the pursuit of the trade which had been taught him. If a lad is a good workman he gets on, and if he is not he does not, whether his indenture bears the Poor Law imprint or not.

We are, however, entirely in agreement with the Committee when they suggest that that part of the Order of 1847 which forbids the apprenticeship of a child to a married woman should be rescinded. It has happened that in cases where Guardians have considered it advantageous to apprentice a girl to a married woman with a view to instruction in dressmaking, they have been compelled to bind the girl to the woman's husband, and to pay the premium to him.²

We deal with the question of the care and control of children after they have been apprenticed in the next chapter.

¹ Report, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Another method of disposing of pauper boys is by

(b) APPRENTICESHIP TO THE ROYAL NAVY.

There are no special regulations in regard to boys entered into the Royal Navy by Boards of Guardians, no distinction being made between them and other boys. It is only necessary to set out here that portion of the regulations which is concerned with the "conditions of entry." These conditions are as follows:¹

"The boy *must* be of good character, able to read and write,² and have the written consent of his parent or guardian to his entry.

"A lad who has been in a reformatory cannot be entered, but a boy of very good character, who has been in an industrial school, may be accepted with the special permission of the Admiralty.

"Boys must come up to the standard of height and chest measurement, and undergo a medical examination.

"The standard is altered frequently, and the nearest recruiting officer should be communicated with as to the current standard before incurring travelling or other expenses.

"At present it is:

Age.		Height (without shoes).		Round Chest.
15½ to 15¾	...	5 ft. 1 in.	...	31 inches.
15¾ " 16½	...	5 ft. 2 in.	...	31½ "
16½ " 16¾	...	5 ft. 3 in.	...	32 "

"Information as regards the standard in force, the necessary forms to be filled up,³ and other points, can be obtained by reference to the officers who are charged with recruiting duties. Boys desirous of entering the Navy, and persons wishing to assist in the entry of boys, should apply, in writing in the first instance, to one of these officers, who are:

"The Captains of Her Majesty's ships—

Training-ships.	<i>Impregnable</i>	.	.	at	.	Devonport.
	<i>(The ship of the Inspecting Captain of Training-ships.)</i>					
	<i>St. Vincent</i>	.	.	at	.	Portsmouth.
	<i>Ganges</i>	.	.	"	.	Falmouth.
	<i>Boscawen</i>	.	.	"	.	Portland.
	<i>Lion</i>	.	.	"	.	Devonport.
	<i>Caledonia</i>	.	.	"	.	Queensferry, N.B.
	<i>Black Prince</i>	.	.	"	.	Queenstown.
	General Depot Ship	.	.	"	.	Chatham.
	Port-guard Ship	.	.	"	.	Queenstown.
	Port-guard Ship	.	.	"	.	Pembroke.

¹ Admiralty Regulations, July, 1896.

² The lowest test is ability to read a passage from a Standard II. Reading Book (New Code), to write a passage dictated from the same book, and to sign his name.

³ The forms for the parents' consent, and for the declaration of birth, can be obtained from the recruiting officer.

"The Captains of the Coast-guard Ships at :

Bantry.	Kingstown.
Greenock.	Portland.
Harwich.	Queensferry.
Holyhead	Southampton.
Hull.	

"The Commanders of the Drill Ships:

<i>Brilon</i>	at .	Inverness.
<i>Medusa</i>	" .	N. Shields.
<i>Clyde</i>	" .	Aberdeen.
<i>Dardalus</i>	" .	Bristol.
<i>Durham</i>	" .	Leith.
<i>Eagle</i>	" .	Liverpool. [London.
<i>President</i>	" .	West India Docks,
<i>Medea</i>	" .	Southampton.
<i>Unicorn</i>	" .	Dundee.

"And the officers at all Coast-guard Stations.**"Also the Royal Marine Recruiting Officers at the following Central Marine Recruiting Stations :**

Birmingham.	Glasgow.
Bristol.	Hull.
Cambridge.	Liverpool.
Derby	London, 22, Spring Gdns.,
Edinburgh.	Trafalgar Square, S.W.
Exeter.	Salisbury.

"There are also non-commissioned officers, serving under the marine recruiting officers, employed at out-stations in different parts of the country. The address of the nearest out-station can be obtained on reference to any marine recruiting officer by letter.

"When a boy, in other respects suitable for the naval service, is slightly under the standard of height or chest measurement, the recruiting officer can, at his discretion, refer to the Admiralty for permission to enter such boy specially.

"This permission applies also to cases in which a candidate is found on medical examination to be suffering from some minor defect or disability, or a few days over age, but otherwise eligible.

"Candidates are in general expected to pay their own travelling expenses to the place of examination, but candidates accepted at the Central Marine Recruiting Stations or on board a training-ship (if the boy's home is nearer to a training-ship than to a Central Marine Recruiting Station) are allowed 1*d.* a mile for travelling expenses if they have come over twelve miles, and non-commissioned officers of the Royal Marines at the out-stations are authorised to send eligible boys to central stations, any such boy afterwards rejected being sent home free of expense.

"Any boy who is accepted by a recruiting officer at a central station is forwarded as soon as possible, free of charge, to a training-ship;

whilst he is waiting to be forwarded, he can, under certain circumstances, be fed and lodged at the Admiralty expense.

"Every boy entering the Navy signs an engagement to serve for a term of years from the age of eighteen; this term is stated in the hand-bills, published from time to time: at present it is twelve years.

"Discharge by purchase can, to a limited extent, be obtained with the sanction of the commanding officer and the Admiralty before the expiration of this term, should valid reasons for the indulgence be given.

"It must be understood that the number of entries is limited."

It is quite unnecessary, we think, to dilate on the advantages to any boy of entering the Royal Navy, and we will merely mention that under the Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1896,¹ "if any boy, not already an apprentice in the Merchant Service, who, or whose parent or parents shall be receiving relief in any Union or parish, be desirous of serving in the Naval Service of Her Majesty, and be forwarded for approval by competent authority for such Service, the Guardians of the poor of such Union or parish may enable any such boy to be so forwarded, and may pay out of their funds such sum, if any, as may be required by the regulations of such Service for providing outfit or otherwise, and also such expenses as may be necessary to be incurred for the conveyance of such boy in charge of a proper person, to and from the port or place in the United Kingdom at which he may be required to attend for examination, and, if accepted, for entry into such Service."

(c) APPRENTICESHIP TO THE MERCHANT SERVICE.

This kind of apprenticeship is now regulated by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894.² At all ports where there is a local Marine Board, and at such other ports as the Board of Trade may determine, there must be maintained a Mercantile Marine office,³ and it is one of the duties of the superintendent of this office "to facilitate the making of apprenticeships to the sea-service," and "to perform such other duties relating to apprentices" as the Act or any other Act relating to merchant shipping requires him to perform.⁴

By section 105 of the Act "all superintendents shall give to persons desirous of apprenticing boys to, or requiring apprentices for the sea-service such assistance as may be in their power, and may receive from these persons such fees as the Board of Trade fix, *with the concurrence, so far as relates to pauper apprentices in England, of the Local Government Board.*"

¹ 39 & 40 Vict. ch. 61.

² *Ibid.*, s. 246.

³ 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, s. 247.

The apprenticeship is made in the same manner, and subject to the same laws and regulations as in the case of ordinary apprenticeships,¹ but with the following additional precaution :

"The indenture must be executed by the boy and the person to whom he is bound in the presence of, and shall be attested by, two Justices of the Peace, and these Justices shall ascertain that the boy has consented to be bound, and has attained the age of twelve years, and is of sufficient health and strength, and that the person to whom the boy is bound is a proper person for the purpose."²

The forms of indenture are issued by the Board of Trade. For other details we must refer our readers to the Act itself (ss. 105-109).

(d) APPRENTICESHIP TO THE SEA-FISHING SERVICE.

This kind of apprenticeship is also regulated by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894.³ No boy under thirteen years of age may be apprenticed under the Act, and the fishing boats on which he is to serve must be over 25 tons tonnage.⁴ Every apprenticeship must be made in accordance with the provisions of the Act.⁵

By section 394 of the Act all superintendents of Mercantile Marine offices must "give to persons desirous of making indentures of apprenticeship to the sea-fishing service or agreements under this part of the Act, or of causing the same to be made, such assistance as may be in their power in reference thereto, and shall supply forms of indentures or agreements at such reasonable rates (if any) as the Board of Trade may fix, and may receive such fees in respect of those indentures or agreements as the Board of Trade may fix."

All indentures of apprenticeship and agreements must be made before a superintendent, and be in accordance with the Act ; and the superintendent, before allowing them to be completed, must satisfy himself (a) that they comply with the requirements of the Act ; (b) that the master is a fit person to have charge of the boy ; (c) that the boy is not under thirteen years of age, and is of sufficient health and strength ; and (d) "that the nearest relations of the apprentice or boy or his guardians assent, in the case of an apprentice, to the apprenticeship and to the stipulations in the indenture of apprenticeship, and in the case of a boy to the stipulations of the agreement," and he must further "make and sign an endorsement that he is so satisfied on the indenture or agreement."⁶ "Where there are no nearest relatives or guardians, or when they cannot readily be found or are not known, the

¹ 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60, s. 106, and see *ante*, pp. 267, etc.

² *Ibid.*, s. 107.

³ 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, s. 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, s. 393.

⁶ *Ibid.*, s. 395.

superintendent shall act as guardian for the occasion, and state on his endorsement that he has so acted."¹

The effect of the provisions of the Act seems to us to be to make the superintendent the responsible party for seeing that the boy is properly treated, and that the conditions of the indenture or agreement are complied with by the master and boy; but Boards of Guardians are still bound to carry out the provisions of 14 & 15 Vict. ch. 11, s. 5, which enacts that in cases in which a young person was hired or taken as a servant, or bound apprentice to a master residing more than five miles from the Union, a written notice of such hiring or binding, stating the full particulars of the same, should be sent to the Guardians of the Union or parish in which the master might reside, and that such Guardians should provide for the due visiting of such person. "These provisions of the statute should be carefully observed by the Guardians of any Union or parish who may send boys to the fishing trade at Great Grimsby or elsewhere."²

The forms of the apprenticeship indenture and of the agreement under the Act of 1894 are issued by the Board of Trade.

The very large majority of boys who are sent by Boards of Guardians into the sea-fishing service go to Great Grimsby. The Reports of the inspectors on these boys are generally satisfactory, and most of them do well. Thus in 1889 Mr. Byam Davies writes:³

"When I was last at Chipping Norton, the master gave me a very satisfactory account of the boys who have been sent from that Union to serve on board fishing smacks at Grimsby. The first boys were sent in May, 1883, and since that date eighteen have been sent in all; of these only one has turned out a failure from laziness, one has been returned on account of being short-sighted, and two from not being able to get over sea-sickness. One of these latter boys, however, some time afterwards took service on board the 'Glen Line' of steamers trading to China and Japan, as captain's boy, and has risen to be third steward, receiving something like £30 a year, and the usual allowances. One boy was unfortunately washed overboard and drowned in a storm. The remaining thirteen, when last heard of, were all doing well, and two of them have become mates."

Mr. Knollys in his Report for 1890 remarks on the number of boys who have been apprenticed to Grimsby smack-owners.⁴ He says:

"I believe there are few better openings for workhouse boys than this. I wish that more Boards of Guardians followed the example set by the Middlesborough and Stockton Boards in this matter. The

¹ 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60, s. 395.

² 19 L. G. B., p. 160.

³ 3 L. G. B., p. xxxv.

⁴ 20 L. G. B., p. 247.

following extracts from Reports made by Mr. Bray, the Master of the Middlesborough Workhouse, after visits to Grimsby, are so interesting, and the information is so clearly calculated to dissipate mistaken notions that I find prevailing as to the ill-treatment the boys may have to endure, that I do not hesitate to quote them at some length: 'On arriving at Grimsby Dock station we went to the house of the smack-owner; he then took us to the boys' lodgings, where we found two Middlesborough lads who sail in the same boat that the three boys were for. I saw the rooms the boys would occupy when on shore; they were very clean and comfortable. The landlady seemed to me a very homely woman, and, from what the other lads told me, she is very kind and looks well after them. She keeps their clothes in repair, and treats them, as one of the lads told me, better than their own mother. She is paid by the smack-owner 12s. 6d. a week for each lad, and 15s. a quarter each for their washing. I went to four other houses where Middlesborough lads were; the bedrooms were all very clean, and the lads appeared to be made very comfortable. The boat the boys sailed in on Monday morning had been newly fitted-out: there is a separate cabin for the apprentices, who are not allowed to go into the men's cabin, which is at the other end of the boat; there are now six Middlesborough lads on this boat with two men and the master. I questioned the boys as to their treatment, food, clothing, etc., when at sea, and their answers were very satisfactory indeed; they all expressed themselves as liking the work, and thanked the Guardians for sending them to Grimsby. The boys told me if anything was wrong they had only to go to Mr. Wood, the Board of Trade Superintendent, and tell him, and he inquired into the matter and it was soon put straight.

"I saw Mr. Wood; he told me that the boys were well treated, in some cases better than others; but the masters the Middlesborough boys are with are reliable men. When a boy has been one ordinary, or two short voyages, he is taken by his master to Mr. Wood, who satisfies himself that the lad likes the work and is suitable for it; if he is not he is sent for another voyage, and if not then satisfactory he is sent home. If he likes the work the indentures are signed, after that the boy goes for two months longer; he is then taken to Mr. Wood again, who, after questioning him as to his clothing, treatment, etc., and fully satisfying himself that he will do, confirms the indentures; after that time, unless the master or apprentice have any complaint to make, the boy is taken to Mr. Wood every six months, and a report as to his conduct is entered in the apprentice register. All money due to the lads during their term of apprenticeship is kept by the Board of Trade until their term has expired. Then they can either take it out or still add to it. The apprentices have a share in salvage, liver cask and roe money; also twopence per score of cod taken. There is a Fisher Lads' Institute to which they can go free of charge, and where amusements of all sorts are provided for them; swimming-baths, gymnasium, reading-room, and library. The institute is supported by voluntary contributions.

"I am sure it will be gratifying to the Guardians to know that out of the twenty-three boys bound during the last five years, eighteen are

reported as "very good," there is one bad report, three have absconded, and one has been drowned. The Guardians are strongly recommended to continue the system of sending lads only to the "cod-fishing," as being much more suitable to the boys than trawling, and also to send boys to masters who go to sea themselves. I saw nine boys; they were all well and warmly clad, and from their appearance must be well fed and looked after; they all said they were happy and satisfied. In the "cod-fishing" the boats carry a sufficient number of men to man them in a storm, independently of the boys, who are always below, and not allowed on deck during very rough weather."

Mr. Wyndham Holgate gives an example to show how successful a position and honourable a character may be secured by apprenticeship to the sea-fishing service. He quotes from a letter written to the master of the Milton Union (Kent) Workhouse by the skipper and owner of a Ramsgate fishing-smack, who had as a boy been apprenticed by the Guardians to this service, as follows:¹

"I expect that you will be surprised, after so long a time, to hear from me, especially after the many severe gales that we have had in the North Sea this last few weeks. Thank God, through my being a fisherman, I have had the honour of saving life, of which I am very proud; and I feel sure that you, now you know, will feel proud of 'Radical Tom.' I dare say that you have seen the account of the shipwreck on the Galloper Sands, in the North Sea, nearly thirty miles from any land.² The skipper's name is Thomas James Watson, and he and 'Radical Tom' are one and the same person. As I said before, I know that you will be proud to know that it was me, but I need not go through the tale, as the papers will give you the best account. I wish that you would mention it before the Board to-day, just to let the Guardians see what sort of men their boys turn out to be. I hope that you won't think this self-praise, for, as the old proverb says, 'Self-praise is no recommendation.' I only did my duty as an Englishman."

Mr. Holgate adds that the Guardians determined to mark their appreciation of Watson's gallantry by presenting him with a gold chronometer.

In 1894 a most important Report on the Fishing Apprenticeship System was made by Mr. A. D. Berrington (Board of Trade) and Mr. J. S. Davy (Local Government Board), and was published as a

¹ 21 *L. G. B.*, p. 186.

² The ship *Enterkin* was wrecked on the Galloper Sands on the night of Saturday, December 12th, 1891. Captain Watson, in spite of his "pauper taint," stood by the wreck in his smack from three a.m. till daylight, and then saved the apprentice C. J. Lewis, the only member of the crew remaining on board. Two other members of the crew were picked up floating on the keel of a boat by the steamship *Ashdon* on the following day.

Parliamentary paper.¹ While the value of this system of dealing with certain classes of pauper boys is fully recognized in this Report, and the opinion is expressed that "every effort should be made to ensure the continuance of this system,"² certain abuses and defects to which it is liable are brought to light.

To begin with the advantages of the apprenticeship system; these are acknowledged by the smack-owners themselves.

"To learn to be a skilful fisherman or a good sailor a boy must begin young, and young boys cannot safely be sent to sea except under the protection which the regulations as to apprenticeship afford. Where there are no apprentices the owners and skippers of fishing boats are obliged to depend on weekly hands, who in many cases are not sailors at all, but men who are driven by poverty to go to sea. We are informed in some parts that men are often shipped to cook, and do the work of boys. Frequently they stay on shore till they are forced to sea by hunger, and then they ship with an insufficient kit. The masters or skippers have to make advances to them for clothing and sea-boots, so that at the end of the trip they are landed with little or nothing due to them, to begin the same round again. In fact, as it was put to us by a master of many years' experience, the weekly hands are generally bound by their necessities and their debts, just as apprentices are by their indentures. Apprenticeship is essential for the protection of the boys, and is safer and more convenient for the owners, who ought to be able by means of it to rely on crews of steady seamen, properly trained to the fishing trade."³

Another of the many advantages of the system is that it enables Boards of Guardians to dispose of boys who cannot easily be dealt with in any other way.

Boards of Guardians find the greatest trouble in obtaining suitable employment for boys who come into the workhouse at the age of fourteen or fifteen, and who from having been brought up among vicious surroundings, or from some defect of character, are not fit for domestic service. They are too young for the Army, and not well grown enough to pass the high physical standard required for the Navy. Apprenticed to the fishing trade, with due care and under proper conditions, they serve a term of disciplined work which may train them to be industrious and useful men. The fact is that for certain boys an apprenticeship to the fishing trade is their last chance.⁴

Generally speaking the masters are kind, and "liberal with the boys in money matters." The boys are well and sufficiently clothed, their food both "on shore and afloat is good and abundant," and they have

¹ (C. 7576). Price 2½d.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

little to complain of on the score of bad treatment. After the period of apprenticeship is over the trade is a most lucrative one to men who are sufficiently steady and skilful to enable them to pass the examinations necessary for skippers' certificates. "Many of the most prosperous smack-owners started as Union apprentices." "We know of no trade where so much money can be earned by men of average skill without capital."

The abuses of the system seem to have arisen mainly from insufficient supervision of the boys on shore, and from the custom of "perquisites."

The Superintendent does not, as a rule, exercise any jurisdiction over the conduct and discipline of the boys when they are on shore, yet Boards of Guardians are apt to think that their duties to the boys end with the formal act of apprenticeship.

Great discredit has been brought on the whole system by the numerous cases of "absconding" which have occurred. Thus from Grimsby, fully one-third of the boys apprenticed between the years 1881 and 1893 are returned as having absconded.¹ "It is frequently said at Grimsby that the absconding apprentices man the Hull fishing-boats."² Absconding does not show that the boy has been in any way ill-treated, or is unfit for sea, or even that he is dissatisfied with his occupation, but it does show a want of thoroughly good relations between him and his master. The boy probably tires of the length of his apprenticeship. "He sees weekly hands who may be inferior in every way to himself receiving amounts many times larger than his scanty spending-money. He forgets that his master has provided him with clothes, food, and medical attendance during the years when his services were of little value, and is still bound to do so until he is out of his indentures. That he should abscond and seek independent employment in another port may be short-sighted and unreasonable, but it is not unnatural."³

Then an apprentice sometimes commits the offence of "stopping the ship," that is by neglecting to join his boat just as she is about to sail; or by going ashore and running away as she is leaving the dock. "The vessel then has to wait until he is caught and brought on board again, or until a weekly hand is found to go to sea in his place."⁴ The inconvenience to which the master is put by this action on the part of his apprentice is, of course, very great, and it often means a serious loss of money to him. The motives which actuate the boy may vary,⁵ but experience shows that "the principal difficulties occur

¹ Report, p. 14. Of 3559 boys apprenticed 1122 absconded.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Report, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ They are stated in the Report.

about half-way through the period of apprenticeship, *i.e.*, when the boy is about 16 or 17 years old. At that age he has learnt something of his trade, and begins to envy the wages and freedom of the weekly hand. His animal spirits are high, and unless he has an exceptionally high sense of duty, or is bound to his employer by a loyalty which can only come from intimate and friendly relations, he can only be restrained by the fear of punishment. As he gets older he becomes more sensible, and realises that his permanent interest is to keep on good terms with his employer, and to qualify himself for his certificate."¹ It must be quite evident that a better supervision over the youths when on shore is the cure for these evils. What can be done in this way has been shown at Ramsgate. In 1878 no less than 10 per cent. of the apprentices were committed by the magistrates for various terms for breach of their indentures. Since then "earnest and successful endeavours have been made to improve the condition of the boys by keeping them under supervision when they are on shore, by carrying out the provisions of the Act of 1883² in a sympathetic spirit, and by the establishment of a well-equipped and kindly-managed fisher boys' home,³ with the result that in 1893 out of over 150 apprentices only *one* was sent to prison.

The conduct of apprentices generally is stated to have improved in recent years,⁴ and how much the trouble of absconding and stopping the ship depends on the master, and upon the way the boys are looked after when on shore, is shown by the instances given in the Report. Thus "a large owner at Grimsby, whose apprentices are all Union boys, said he had never had an unmanageable boy or one whom it was necessary to punish by imprisonment. Nearly all his skippers are his old apprentices."⁵ We have already referred to the evidence given by Mr. Bray, the master of the Middlesborough Workhouse, as to the success of his Union boys. The Board of this Union, together with some other Boards, are specially mentioned in the Report for the care they take to select suitable homes for their boys, and to find out what they are doing after they are apprenticed. Thus "an officer of the Guardians accompanies the boy to Grimsby, sees him indentured, attends again before the superintendent after the trial trip, and periodically visits him afterwards." At Wisbeach this duty is discharged by the Chairman of the Guardians.⁶

The Report goes on to say that "there seems to be a general agree-

¹ Report, p. 6.

² Now replaced by the Act of 1894.

³ Report, p. 6.

⁴ The returns appended to the Report show this most clearly.

⁵ Report, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ment among the Guardians, who have given most attention to the matter, that the boys who are placed with private owners have the better chance. The committee of the Middlesborough Guardians, who have always exercised a constant and kindly supervision over their apprentices, write: 'We are of opinion that it is preferable to send them to private owners, rather than to the companies who have a large number of apprentices living in homes specially built for the purpose, as in these homes the boys, though well taken care of, do not get the benefit of home-life as they do in private houses.' They add that the boys should not be sent before they are fifteen years of age. The superintendent of the Edmonton Schools mentions the fact that one of the boys apprenticed from the schools is now a smack-owner and takes apprentices from them, and says: 'It should be borne in mind that it is only the strong, rougher lads that are sent to sea from these schools—boys that it would be very difficult to do anything else with. In sending our boys to sea I never place them with the large smack-owners, but with those who go to sea in their own vessels, and who have the boys to live with them at their own homes when ashore.'"¹

At Hull, where the system is practically becoming extinct, one of the reasons given is that the owners of the smacks, living more comfortably than they used to do, are unwilling to board the apprentices in their own homes. "The boys have to live in lodgings, and the domestic control which formerly existed, and which bound the boy to his master by other ties than those which are set out in the indentures, is lost."² And again, at Hull there is no difficulty in getting weekly hands, and "if there had been at Grimsby the same supply of weekly hands as there is at Hull and Lowestoft it is probable that the apprentice system would have died out as it has done in other ports. As it is, it is worth the while of the companies and the larger smack-owners to take the boys and even to make special efforts to get them. For instance, the managing director of the Grimsby Ice Company, to which no less than 222 apprentices are bound, visits Unions all over the country for the purpose of recruiting boys from the workhouse schools."³

The Inspectors, being convinced of the necessity of continuing the system, have naturally suggestions to make how its decay can be arrested and its abuses prevented. They consider that the remedy lies (1) in the improvement of the training and discipline of the apprentices, and (2) in the readjustment of several details connected with the regulations and supervision.⁴

On the first of these two points the remedy rests with the masters

¹ Report, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 6 and 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

and the Guardians. The masters, who are the gainers when their vessels are worked by fishermen who have undergone the training of apprenticeship, should take care that the boys are "under a steady though kindly discipline when they are afloat, and should enjoy a certain amount of home life, with the domestic supervision and interests which home life implies, when they are ashore. And the Guardians, whom the system relieves of their most troublesome class of boys, must recognize what a salutary effect their subsequent supervision has upon both master and apprentice." The Local Government Board fully endorse the opinion of the two inspectors on this point as follows:¹

"Before a boy is apprenticed he should be passed as fit for the service by a medical officer, whose certificate should accompany the application to the superintendent for the indentures, and should be retained by him. He should be accompanied to the port by a responsible officer, who should satisfy himself that the arrangements made for the boy's reception are suitable, and should visit him occasionally after the indentures have been confirmed. Provision should be made to ensure that absconding or other grave misconduct and any serious accident should be at once reported. Many masters make it a practice to give their apprentices an annual holiday for the purpose of enabling them to visit their friends. This appears to have a very good effect on the boys, and it might well be made a condition in the indentures² when practicable and subject to the approval of the superintendent, which approval should be withheld as a punishment for serious misconduct. As the first employment of an apprentice is as cook, it would be of much use in helping him over his early troubles if he received some instruction and practice in cookery before he is sent to the port."

With regard to the second point, much of the bad conduct of the boys at Grimsby arises from the fact that they have too much money, owing to the articles of the indentures not being carried out. The boys become entitled at the end of each voyage to the perquisites of stockerbait, liver money, and score money, which are paid to them in lump sums. The amount is often considerable, ranging from a minimum of 10s. 4d. to a maximum of £2 15s., and in several cases it exceeds £2. Unless the boys are restrained by strong moral influences they are certain to be tempted to waste this money in demoralising surroundings.³ In order to remove this temptation, and on the recommendation of the inspectors, the form of apprentice-

¹ Report, p. 11, and 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 119.

² This has now been done, for clause nine of the revised form of indenture provides that the master shall allow a boy a reasonable holiday in each year.

³ Report, pp. 8 and 11.

ship indenture and endorsements has been revised by the Board of Trade, and its sixth clause now provides that the master shall pay to the superintendent any balance of spending money, share of salvage, and other perquisites due to each apprentice that may remain after the payment of the daily or weekly allowance fixed by the endorsement, and that the superintendent shall apply these sums for the benefit of the boy in accordance with the terms of the indenture and the endorsements.

At the present time, therefore, "the apprentice, instead of receiving his perquisites, which are occasionally of considerable amount, at irregular intervals, will receive a regular weekly payment according to his age and standing in the fishing service, and in addition to the spending money he used to receive. And the fund will also be available for the expenses of holidays and the payment of fines. This last provision is of great importance, for it will enable a magistrate in many cases to punish a boy for breaches of discipline without committing him to prison."¹

Another recommendation of the inspectors which the Board of Trade has accepted, related to the amplification of the annual Returns by the superintendents on apprenticeships, so that they might show in a concise form the action taken, and any important occurrences in each individual case.²

Further, in accordance with another recommendation of the inspectors, no apprenticeship for a longer period than six years will, unless under exceptional circumstances, be sanctioned by the Board of Trade.³ The age at which boys should be apprenticed to the sea-fishing service is still left optional so long as they are over thirteen years, although the inspectors' recommendation was that they should not be apprenticed to the service at much less an age than fifteen.⁴ It seems that at some ports the outdoor officers of the Board of Trade are sworn in as constables for the purpose of assisting in stopping or bringing back deserters under the Act,⁵ and the inspectors recommend the general adoption of this practice.⁶

The importance of not losing this valuable mode of disposing of the rougher classes of pauper boys has induced us to enter at considerable length into an account of the system, and we shall be satisfied if what

¹ See 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 118.

² *Ibid.*, and Report, p. 11.

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 119. "Some Boards of Guardians think that four years is the term which is fairest to the boys, but it does not pay a smack-owner to take a young apprentice for so short a period, and it is doubtful whether the four years' training would be enough to thoroughly teach the trade of a fisherman." Report, pp. 11, 12.

⁴ Report, p. 12.

⁵ 57 & 58 Vict. ch. 60, s. 380.

⁶ *Ibid.*

we have said on the subject should be the means of inducing Boards of Guardians to give more attention to the supervision of the boys whom they send forth to encounter the dangers and hardships of the fine life of a fisherman.

SECTION IV. ENTRY INTO THE ARMY AND NAVY BANDS.

A large number of boys from Poor Law Schools are disposed of in this way, and do excellently. Thus, no fewer than 174 boys, or rather less than one quarter of the whole number (773) who were discharged from Metropolitan Poor Law Schools during the year 1895, joined the Army or Navy bands: 94 from the *Exmouth*, and 80 from other schools. Of course the Departmental Committee, while obliged to admit the success of large schools in this respect at least, could not resist the usual sneer at them, suggesting, without a tittle of evidence to support the idea, that these musicians eventually come back to the workhouse and casual wards.¹ The Poor Law Schools are in fact the favourite hunting-grounds for the bandmasters of regiments, because no boy is allowed to enter the school band until he has shown a natural capacity for music by the possession of a good ear for time and tune. They can thus be depended upon as likely to form efficient members of military bands. There is no difficulty, therefore, in finding places for such boys. As they cannot be enlisted until they are fourteen years of age, they have the further advantage that they have had industrial training. The consent of the managers of schools or of the Guardians is considered sufficient authority for the enlistment, even where the boys have parents. With regard to the suggestion of the Departmental Committee that these boys may come back to the workhouses and casual wards, it must not be forgotten how slight is the risk of this, and how unjust to compare the enlistment of a band boy with that of the ordinary soldier, for these boys are not only well looked after, but their youth enables their education to be carried on in the Army.

SECTION V. EMPLOYMENT OF BOYS GENERALLY.

In the appendix to the latest Report of the Local Government Board² will be found a list showing the nature of the employments in which boys chargeable to Unions and parishes in the Metropolis were placed during the year 1895, after education in a Poor Law School or in a certified school. The headings are as follows:

¹ Report, p. 42.

² 25 L. G. B., p. 515.

Bakers	41	Navy (excluding Bands)	101
Bands (Naval and Military)	174	Mercantile Marine	91
Domestic Service	32	Shoemakers	38
Hairdressers	13	Tailors	27
Building Trade	18	Errand Boys	16
Sent to Working Boys' Homes	173	Other employments ¹	49

The large number of boys who were placed in the Working Boys' Homes² will be noted. According to the Report of the committee of the Homes, there does not seem to have been much difficulty in finding employment for them. It is satisfactory to find that two Poor Law boys are selected for special and favourable mention in the Report, thus :

"E. C. came from the North Surrey District Schools. Although he is only seventeen years of age he is earning 20/- per week. He has kept the same situation which was found for him when he entered the home, beginning with 6/- per week. He found a respectable lodging nearer his work, and withdrew over £2 from the Boys' Bank.

"W. entered one of the Homes from the Union schools at Hornchurch. On attaining eighteen years of age, being quite able to keep himself, he went to live with a former resident. He had over £3 in the Boys' Bank."

A recent Order, dated the 10th July, 1897, empowers Boards of Guardians to provide outfits for any child chargeable to any Poor Law Union when sent to service by the Guardians; and the Order applies to boarded-out children. This Order, and the circular letter which accompanied it, are set out in full in Appendix I. (page 421).

To conclude, in judging the results of the education and training given in Poor Law Schools, which is, of course, intended to fit the child for getting on in after life, we must never forget the extraordinary difficulties with which school managers and Guardians have to contend in dealing with the varying classes of children which come under their control. That these results are so favourable as they are shown to be, should make us hesitate to condemn Poor Law Schools outright. If there is a kindly helping hand to assist the child, whether a boy or girl, during the early years of service or employment, and if these children (and girls especially) can only be protected from designing relations and friends who wish to get hold of them for their own selfish and often wicked ends, the large majority of them will do well. It is, therefore, to the consideration of this "after-care" that we shall devote the next chapter.

¹ Including a laundry boy, printer, fishing apprentice, railway and carriage works apprentice, lapidary, ironmonger, window-blind maker, watchmaker, photographer, telegraph boy, post office messenger, two grocers, two butchers, two sweeps and two greengrocers, four office boys, six clerks, seven emigrated, and seven garden or farm boys.

² As to these Homes see *post*, pp. 309-312.

CHAPTER XI.

AFTER-CARE

THE age at which boys and girls are sent by Boards of Guardians to service or employment varies in different Unions, but generally they are supposed to be able to earn their living at thirteen years of age. In the Metropolitan schools they are, however, kept up to the age of fourteen or fifteen, and the tendency undoubtedly is, at the present time, not to let them go into service until they have attained, whether boys or girls, at least the age of fourteen.¹ As to the age at which girls should be sent out, Mrs. Nassau Senior found a great divergence of opinion among the officials and Guardians.

"It is said, on the one hand, that little girls of the humblest class are able to earn something at a much earlier age than fourteen, and that a pauper girl ought to be taught that it is her duty to earn her livelihood on attaining that age; to this it is replied that it is useless to send a girl into the world unless she has a fair chance of doing well; that girls sent out too soon get disheartened by constant failures, never become self-supporting, and are likely to be ultimately a burden to the rates. I do not think that any exact rule can be laid down as to age; so much must depend on the circumstances of each particular case. In practice this appears to be understood, and I have no occasion to suggest any change in the regulation of age for going to service."²

At that time (1874), as at present, girls were, speaking generally, sent to service from fourteen to fifteen years. Mr. Mozley (Northern District and Wales) expresses a wish that Guardians were not in such a hurry to send children out to service.³

¹ In country districts thirteen or fourteen seems to be the general age at which boys are sent out to employment. But there are a considerable number of manufacturing and mining districts, partaking something of a country character, in which both boys and girls are sent out for "adoption," or for very early service, from nine years of age (or even younger) upwards. These children are, however, generally, and certainly ought to be, sent to school in their places of "adoption." Under this latter head would come boys sent to the coalpits.

² 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 334.

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 224.

"A boy or girl of twelve or thirteen can generally do much more useful work inside the workhouse or Poor Law School than outside it; and when the school is in large measure denuded of children, the work of those which remain is multiplied. It is quite true that the advantage of the institution ought not to be pleaded against the clear right of each child to be sent out into the world when he or she is fitted for independent work; but it is no gain to the child, but, on the contrary, a danger and a hardship, to be sent into the world prematurely."

But whatever opinion may be held upon the question at what age children should be sent out into the world to earn their own living, there can be no division of opinion upon the necessity of care in the choice of situations, and of securing to them adequate protection during their early years of service or employment.

As regards the choice of a home, we are afraid that some Boards of Guardians are only too glad to get any kind of situations for their children, whether boys or girls, and are apt to take the first which offers. Speaking of the Poor Law girl, Mrs. Nassau Senior pointed out the special reason for care in the choice of a situation for her.¹

"Her disadvantages, to begin with, are greater than those of girls of the humblest sort brought up at home; and the dangers which follow failure are, in her case, incalculably increased by rarely having any home but the workhouse to retreat upon. If a girl is placed out in unfavourable conditions, it can hardly be expected that she will keep her place and continue to be self-supporting; she will be constantly returning to the school from place after place, or, if such returns are not permitted by the rules, will provide herself with a situation often as bad as the one she is leaving, and in which she will not remain; or she will go to relations (often the most undesirable friends she can have), or return to the workhouse."

Then we are reminded how much more trying to a girl brought up in artificial surroundings must be the entrance into life than to one who has had natural training in a family, and the experience of every-day life; and how important it is that the choice of the home should not be committed to men, such as the relieving officers, although use should be made of the information which they can give as to general respectability and solvency.

If there were any difficulty in finding situations for these children, there might be something to be said for taking any places that were offered, without a very rigid inquiry as to their merits. But as there is not, Boards of Guardians cannot be too particular on the point. As regards girls, there is not the least doubt that matters have much

¹ 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 337.

improved since 1873, when Mrs. Nassau Senior's Report was written. In London the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants finds suitable homes for girls, while in many provincial Unions the Girls' Friendly Society and other similar societies will undertake the same task. In some Unions the matrons of workhouses are very particular on the point of choosing good homes for the girls, and of visiting them regularly. The great increase in the number of lady Guardians of late years will undoubtedly cause even more attention than at present to be paid to the subject.

We are afraid that the case of boys has not received so much attention. They are, of course, able to fight their way in the world better than girls, but still the importance of getting them into good homes must not be overlooked.

Having found good homes for the children, the Guardians must provide for securing their adequate protection. This can only be done by the constant supervision and visiting of them in their situations, a duty indeed which Parliament in 1851 imposed upon Guardians, but only so long as a child retained its first situation, or was under sixteen years of age.

The two sections of the Act referred to¹ are as follows :

"*Section 4.*—Where any young person under the age of sixteen shall have been or shall be hired or taken as a servant from the workhouse of any union or parish, or shall have been or shall be bound out as an apprentice by the guardians of any union, or the guardians or overseers of any parish, it shall be lawful for such guardians or overseers respectively, and they are hereby required, so long as such young person shall be under the age of sixteen, and shall be known to them to reside as servant or apprentice in the same service into which such young person shall have so gone as a servant from such workhouse or as such apprentice within such union or parish respectively, or within five miles of any part of such union or parish, to cause the relieving officer, or where there is no relieving officer, then some other officer duly authorized for the purpose, to visit such young person at least twice in every year, and to report to them in writing whether he has found reason to believe that such young person is not supplied with necessary food, or is subjected to cruel or illegal treatment in any respect.

"*Section 5.*—Where any young person under the age of sixteen shall hereafter be hired or taken as a servant from the workhouse of any union or parish, or shall be bound out as an apprentice by the guardians of any union, or by the guardians or overseers of any parish, and the residence of the master or mistress shall be more than five miles from any part of such union or parish, then a written notice of such hiring, taking, or binding, specifying the name and age of such apprentice or servant, and the name, description, and residence

¹ 14 Vict. ch. 11.

of such master or mistress, shall be forthwith sent from such guardians or overseers to the guardians or overseers of the union or parish in which such master or mistress shall reside; and thereupon it shall become the duty of such last-mentioned guardians or overseers to cause the particulars contained in such notice to be registered in some book or books to be provided by them for the purpose, together with the name of the union or parish from which such notice shall have been received; and such last-mentioned guardians or overseers shall cause such young person to be visited as frequently and in the same manner in all respects as if such young person had been hired or taken from their own workhouse, or had been bound out as an apprentice by themselves."¹

It will be noted that written reports on the child have to be made from time to time to the Guardians by their officers. We are afraid, however, that this regulation is not always observed, especially in country Unions, or where they are made that they are not entered upon a register in such a way as to be available as a permanent record, and useful for reference at any subsequent time. It is, of course, most important that the children should be visited and reported upon, and the register kept.

In 1874 Mr. Murray Browne laid stress on this.² He said:

"The register is often neglected, but this should never be allowed. It would also be a great advantage if masters of workhouses were instructed to keep some regular record of any information which reaches them as to the subsequent history of children sent out of the workhouse. At present, if a master moves from one Union to another, this information is generally no longer available. The register referred to might be used for this purpose if a column were added to it for 'Remarks.'"

In 1880 the Local Government Board drew up a form of register, which contains the "Remarks" column suggested by Mr. Murray Browne, and recommended that where it was used a separate page

¹ Boards of Guardians seem only to be relieved from the duty of "after-care" when children are emigrated by them. Canada is now the only field for emigration, but unfortunately the regulations of the Canadian Government draw a distinction between children emigrated under the Poor Law and those emigrated by philanthropic societies. It is also alleged that the former class are frequently assigned to lower-class families than the latter. This unreasoning prejudice must be taken into consideration. It has to a great extent been created by those who are so fond of talking about the "pauper taint." To us the distinction made between a "waif and stray" and a "Poor Law child" seems to be rather of a fine character, but it is made, and therefore there is a great deal to be said in favour of children whom it is intended to emigrate being placed in training homes for a few months before being sent out, so that this curious distinction drawn between them and other children may be lost. This few months' probation is thought sufficient to cleanse the child from the taint.

² *L. G. B.*, p. 186.

UNION.

*Register of Visits to Boys and Girls sent out as Apprentices or Servants
from the*

	No. in Register.	
	Name of Boy or Girl.	
	Age when sent out.	
	Date of sending out.	
	Name of Master or Mistress.	
	Trade or other description of Master or Mistress.	
	Residence of Master or Mistress.	
	No. of Relief District.	
	Date.	In the case of Apprentices, etc., date of binding, and for what term.
	Term.	
	Date of Visit.	
	Present Age of Boy or Girl.	
	Remarks.	
	Signature of Visiting Officer.	

"If Guardians were to see that the Act of Parliament were carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter; if they were to see that the register, embodying the reports of the children, were always in convenient form, duly filled in, the name of each child being entered once and once only, so that all the information respecting any child should be gathered together on one page, or on two consecutive pages, and not be scattered over different parts of the register; if, lastly, there were to issue periodical summaries of the information thus gained, a very large knowledge of the results of the different systems of Poor Law education would be obtained. But in the reports and registers now existing there are frequent defects, and summaries of the information are very rare indeed. The principal defects in the reports are these: first, that where (as is usual) the relieving officers are the visiting officers, the report books are in the custody of the relieving officers, and not in the custody of the clerk. This (unless the Unions

¹ 18 *L. G. B.*, p. 145.

has only one relieving officer) necessitates the use of several report books instead of one; and if the child who is being visited moves from one district to another, the name will be repeated in different books, perhaps several times—a very cumbrous method. And whereas the masters and matrons of workhouses are often the persons who know most about the children who have been sent out, none of their knowledge can filter to the books kept by the relieving officer. Whereas, if the book were in the custody of the clerk, not only would one book be adequate for all the reports (and without any inconvenience to the relieving officers), but it might be periodically submitted to the master and matron in order that they might enter in it anything which they might know about the children. But, even within the limits of the report book (or register) of a single relieving officer, there is often great waste of space and cumbrous repetitions of names.

"I do not doubt that all defects, such as those to which I have referred, would be speedily removed if Boards of Guardians were ever to care to produce summaries of the results of the Poor Law education in their Unions, as shown by the after careers of the children. I can only recall at this moment one such summary, that, namely, which is issued every three years by the Liverpool Select Vestry. There is, however, one issued by the Windermere Boarding-out Committee, and it might very well be taken as a model; in two pages the main facts about all the 102 children whom the Committee have received during eighteen years are recorded."

As to the operation of the Act generally, Mr. Mozley, in 1893,¹ made some inquiries in his district as to the manner in which its provisions were being carried out. He found that in the larger Unions it was being administered, if not faultlessly, at all events with a good deal of care. He thinks, however, that the duty is one which would be better carried out by societies of a semi-private character: "I cannot say entirely private, because the duty is an official one. I wish there could be more approximation in the country to such a work as is done by the Metropolitan Society for Befriending Young Servants in London. The Girls' Friendly Society, valuable as its work is, is not in a position to take upon itself the whole of such a duty. But it would form an important factor in any general scheme for this end."

Probably in no Union outside London (where the M. A. B. Y. S. takes such good care of the girls) are the children who leave the schools for service or employment kept longer under supervision than in Manchester. They are not lost sight of for three or four years. In an interesting report on the condition of the children sent out to service from the Swinton Schools, Manchester, in 1876,² Mr. J. S. Davy and Mr. Mozley describe the system of visiting which had been carried out by the Guardians since 1871.

¹ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 150. See also 20 *L. G. B.*, p. 270.

² 6 *L. G. B.*, p. 47.

"In that year a special officer was appointed to visit the children and report the results; and about four years ago the system was further improved by the appointment of separate visiting officers for the girls. The boys are visited by one of the assistant relieving officers of the Guardians, . . . and the girls by two industrial trainers . . . The children are visited every six months, the boys until the end of their apprenticeship, and the girls until they are eighteen years old, and longer if they desire it.¹ We are told that the boys liked being visited and looked upon it as a protection. In confirmation of this, we may mention that a few days ago a letter was received from one of the boys, complaining that his master had struck him, and asking that one of his Guardians should be sent to inquire into the matter. Two of the girls were said to be anxious to elude the visitors, but in the great majority of cases it is evident that the visiting officers are welcomed as friends and helpers both by the employers and the children. The visitors are instructed to see the children and their employers, to make inquiries as to the attendance of the former at Sunday-school and at places of worship, and generally to investigate the condition of the children, and report the result to the School Committee. All the girls are receiving wages, and the visitors see that the 'wage book' is kept by them. This book shows the amount of wages paid to the girls, and the amount expended on their behalf by their employers. The visitors are careful to ask the employers to see that this book is kept regularly by the girls, in order that they may be trained to orderly habits with regard to money.

"Occasionally the visitors suggest that the wages of a girl should be raised, often with the desired effect.

"Every person who takes a child from the schools is obliged to sign forms promising to give immediate notice to the Guardians in case the child should leave her place for any reason. Girls out of employment are sent to the Servants' Home, and remain there until the Committee of that institution can find another place for them."²

The above system is still in force in the Manchester Union, except that recently an arrangement has been made to bring the girls under the influence of the associates of the Girls' Friendly Society, which does not, however, in any way lessen the supervision of the Guardians. The forms referred to are as follows :

¹ The boys are apprenticed to various trades, to colliers, and to farmers. Most of the girls are placed in domestic service, but some are apprenticed to trades or factories.

² Mr. George Macdonald, the Clerk to the Manchester Board of Guardians, who has kindly supplied me with valuable information as to the system practised at Swinton, writes as follows in regard to this Home :

"It was established and is managed by a committee of ladies. The object of the Home is to provide a temporary lodging for respectable girls when out of place, and to find suitable situations for them. By arrangement it is used as a Home for the purposes of the Girls' Friendly Society. I may mention, also, that within the last few years a similar Home has been established for Roman Catholic girls. There is no corresponding institution for boys, and, so far as I know, there is no need of one."

*"Conditions under which an Apprentice is sent out from
Swinton Schools.*

"1. The Master will be required to attend, along with the boy, at the Poor Law Offices, New Bridge Street, Manchester, on Wednesday, the _____, at 2.30 p.m., in order that, should the boy suit him, the preliminary arrangements may be made for having him bound apprentice, or, should he be deemed unsuitable, for having him returned to the care of the Guardians.

"2. A full outfit of Sunday and working clothes will be supplied by the Guardians to each boy bound apprentice, or the Master may himself purchase the clothes, and if, upon inspection, they are found satisfactory, the Guardians will allow the Master fifty shillings for the same.

"3. The Master will pay the boy such weekly wages as may be agreed upon.

"4. The Master will at once inform the Clerk to the Guardians of any change in his address, and of any circumstances which may cause the boy to leave his service without the previous knowledge and consent of the Guardians, and in the event of the boy being attacked with any serious illness, will immediately give notice thereof to the Clerk.

"_____189 .

*"Conditions under which a Boy is sent out to Service from
Swinton Schools.*

"1. The Master will be required to attend, along with the boy, at the _____ at 2.30 p.m., in order that, should the boy suit him, arrangements may be made for having him engaged, or, should he be deemed unsuitable, for having him returned to the care of the Guardians.

"2. A full outfit of Sunday and working clothes will be supplied by the Guardians to each boy when engaged; or the Master may himself purchase the clothes, and if, upon inspection, they are found satisfactory, the Guardians will allow the Master fifty shillings for the same.

"3. The Master will pay the boy such weekly wages as may be agreed upon.

"4. The Master will at once inform the Clerk to the Guardians of any change in his address, and of any circumstances which may cause the boy to leave his service without the previous knowledge and consent of the Guardians, and in the event of the boy being attacked with any serious illness, will immediately give notice thereof to the Clerk.

"_____189 .

"Conditions under which a Girl is sent out to Service from Swinton Schools.¹

"1. The Master or Mistress is required to attend, along with the girl, at the Poor Law Offices, New Bridge Street, Manchester, on Wednesday, the _____, at 3.30 p.m., in order that, should the girl be found suitable, arrangements may be made for having her engaged; or, should she be deemed unsuitable, for having her returned to the care of the Guardians.

"2. A full outfit of clothing will be supplied by the Guardians to each girl when engaged.

"3. The wages to be paid to the girl will be at the rate of 1s. 6d. a week, to be increased to 2s. at the expiration of three months.

"4. The Master or Mistress will at once inform the Clerk to the Guardians of any change in his or her address, and of any circumstances which may cause the girl to leave her situation without the previous knowledge and consent of the Guardians; and in the event of the girl being attacked with any serious illness, will immediately give notice thereof to the Clerk.

"_____189 .

The conditions under which children enter service or employment from the Anerley Schools are as follows:

"NORTH SURREY SCHOOL DISTRICT.

"I _____ *apply for the services*
of _____, *and agree to take into my service as*
with the following understanding:

"1. That _____ is provided with a suitable outfit by and at the discretion of the School Managers.

"2. That I pay _____ wages at the rate of at least £6 per annum, and agree to raise the same by yearly increments of at least £1, in addition to board, lodging, washing, and medical attendance.

"3. That _____ comes to me for one month's trial, and during that time the service may be determined either by myself or the Managers of the District School. In the event of my desiring to determine the service during the first or trial month, I undertake to communicate with the Superintendent of the District School, in order that the necessary arrangements for _____ re-admission may be made at the next regular admission day.

"4. After the expiration of the trial month, in the event of my desiring to determine the service, I will give _____ the usual month's notice, and communicate the same to the Superintendent of the District School.

¹ Owing to the great demand for the girls trained in the schools, the Guardians have been able to get an increase in the rate of wages.

- "5. I undertake that I will not, under any circumstances, bring or send back to the District School without first consulting with the Superintendent.
- "6. I undertake that shall duly observe the Sunday, and shall have proper opportunities of attending religious worship and for self-improvement.
- "7. I undertake that suitable sleeping accommodation shall be provided, and in the case of a Boy that he shall occupy a separate bed.
- "8. I undertake to superintend the expenditure of his or her wages, keeping an account of the payments and disbursements in a book to be provided by the Managers, and to use my best endeavours to inculcate habits of honesty, sobriety, and thrift.
- "9. That I will permit the visits of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants' Chaplain, or any other accredited person sent by the Managers, and afford accurate information respecting the conduct and character of
- "10. Finally, I accept the service of recognising the fact that he or she is of tender years, and not to be expected to perform the duties of a fully-qualified servant.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

"Applications for the Services of Boys or Girls must be made personally to the Committee of the Board, which meets at the School at Anerley every Monday at 2 o'clock."

But Boards of Guardians are not now bound to employ their relieving officers in the duty of visiting under the Act of 1851, for by an Act which was passed in 1876¹ they "or the managers of any district school may appoint and pay any officer or other competent person to visit and report upon the condition, treatment, and conduct" of the children they have sent to service until the latter attain sixteen years of age; and by a still later Act of 1879² they may, with the consent of the Local Government Board, *subscribe* towards any association or society for aiding boys and girls in service.

Both these Acts have worked very beneficially in enabling Boards of Guardians and School Managers to utilise volunteer work. Thus, if they have ladies on their Boards they can depute them to visit and report upon the children sent to service by them, or they can transfer the duty to societies like the M. A. B. Y. S. or G. F. S. Indeed, as

¹ 39 & 40 Vict. ch. 61, s. 33.

² 42 & 43 Vict. ch. 54, s. 10.

regards girls the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians have for some years entrusted the work of "after-care" entirely to the former Association. Mr. Mozley testifies to the satisfactory change in this respect as follows:¹

"The help of unofficial or semi-official workers is more and more largely called into play, and indeed the operation of the Poor Law naturally connects itself with the operation of charitable bodies of all sorts. Such a connection is possible mainly in two ways; first, by entrusting children afflicted by some special delicacy or infirmity to certified homes (and even in some cases to non-certified homes); secondly, by calling in the aid of private persons or societies to visit the children after they are sent out by Guardians to places of employment. For instance, some ladies at Dewsbury have within the past year undertaken to do this for the Guardians in respect of the girls sent out to service from their new cottage homes there; and I have before mentioned in these reports the Sheffield House of Help, which does the same for the girls sent out by the Guardians of that Union. In both these instances the visits paid to the girls are officially reported; but the Girls' Friendly Society never, I think, reports officially,² though the ladies connected with it often visit girls sent out from Poor Law schools. I have often wished that the visits paid by the ladies of this latter Society could be officially reported to the Guardians,³ and I am not sure that the difficulties which really exist might not be overcome."⁴

We are thus led naturally to consider what work is actually being done at the present time by voluntary societies and other agencies in this matter of "after-care."

(1) *The M. A. B. Y. S.*

The Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants merits our first attention. It was founded in 1875 upon lines suggested by Mrs. Nassau Senior,⁵ to whose valuable Report we have made such frequent reference in these pages. Mrs. Nassau Senior pointed out how useful such an association might be, inasmuch as, while the legal guardianship of children did not cease till they were sixteen, practically it might be brought to an end much sooner if they left their first place before that age. At this time Boards of Guardians could only employ their own officers in the duty of supervision, having no power to depute it to other persons or bodies. But since this power was given,⁶ the Metropolitan Boards have

¹ 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 67; see also 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 204.

² This is not now correct. The Society makes periodical reports.

³ See last note.

⁴ See also 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 226.

⁵ See 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 392; and 4 *L. G. B.*, p. 181.

⁶ *Ante*, p. 37. But Boards of Guardians can only depute to other persons or bodies powers which they possess themselves under the Act of 1851. Therefore voluntary societies have no power over girls after they have left their first situations.

entrusted the whole duty of the supervision of their girls who go out to service or employment to this Association, whose "*primary* work is the care, protection, and guidance of the young girls who are entering life on leaving the London Poor Law Schools, in which they have been brought up." The importance of the work of the Association may be gauged from the fact that over 450 girls leave these schools every year for service.¹ On the 31st December, 1896, the Association had 7474 girls under its care; and during 1896 2846 girls from district and separate Poor Law schools were being looked after by it. The girls are visited in their situations by ladies; they are provided with safe lodgings while out of place; they are trained and taught their duties; and they are cared for in sickness, and provided with clothes when necessary. In 1896, 1071 ladies were carrying on this good work. The Association has in and about London fourteen lodging-homes for girls at the critical periods when they are out of place, and five training-homes where they are taught laundry work and the other duties of domestic servants. It has thirty district committees in the Metropolitan area. Reports as to how the children are getting on, etc., are sent regularly from the central office to the Boards of Guardians to whose Unions the children are chargeable.² It is, of course, quite impossible to describe here fully the work of the Association; but all information with regard to it can be obtained from the central office of the Association at 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, w.c. (Secretary, Miss Poole).³ It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to mention that it is an undenominational Association. We have already shown how successful it has been in training the Poor Law school girls to be steady and good servants. Its work has naturally met with warm praise from the Poor Law inspectors.⁴ Mr. Brooke Lambert, the present Chairman of the

Nor can they get girls removed against their will from unsatisfactory situations. See *post*, p. 341.

¹ In 1895, 464 girls left the schools, of whom 459 went into domestic service. (25 *L. G. B.*, p. 516).

² Some Boards of Guardians publish these Reports each year for circulation among the Guardians. One published by the St. Pancras Board of Guardians for the year ended 31st March, 1896, now lies before us. From it we gather that out of 116 girls from the Leavesden Schools who were under the care of the M. A. B. Y. S., four were classed as unsatisfactory, and only one as bad. Ten had been lost sight of, and six were with relations.

³ In Appendix K, *post*, p. 422, will be found the forms now in use. (1) The form sent by the Guardians to the M. A. B. Y. S. when a girl has been placed out. (2) The form (now adopted at the request of the M. A. B. Y. S. by almost all the schools) on which application is made by any mistress desirous of engaging girls from the schools.

⁴ *c.g.*, 8 *L. G. B.*, p. 153; 11 *L. G. B.*, p. 130; 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 49.

Association, and one of the members of the Departmental Committee, speaking at the South-Eastern District Poor Law Conference, 1896, expressed his disagreement with the Report of the Committee in its suggestion that the children failed after coming out from the Poor Law Schools,¹ and in proof of this statement he drew attention to the following fact, which was not in his possession at the time (*i.e.*, when the Report was drawn up), and said that it showed on very independent evidence that these children could hold their own against the same class living outside:

"On the coming of age of the Association in 1895, medals were distributed by H.R.H. Princess Christian to all girls who were at that time in places where they had been for one year and upwards with a good character. The award was made solely on the independent report of the mistresses, who signed a certificate in each case. The proportion under care has been, roughly, two locals to one central girl.² Nevertheless the one-third, or rather less, central girls took 804 medals to the 749 obtained by the local girls. This shows that over a range of years the centrals more than hold their own with the locals—girls of their own class in life. Tested, however, by the length of service, the success is even more striking. The awards were as follows:

	Centrals.	Locals.
For girls one year in the same service	312	426
" two years "	189	197
" three " "	112	45
" four " "	69	32
" five " "	36	17
" six " "	31	16
" over six up to sixteen years	55	16
	804	749

The only two girls who got medals for sixteen years' service were central girls. It has often been remarked that 'centrals' may be less sharp and handy than 'locals'; but, judged by the test of character, they seem to be superior, for, falling behind in the first year, and scarcely keeping pace in the second year, they win all along the line as the length of service increases. The judgment of mistresses might have erred on the side of kindness, but there is no gainsaying the test of length of place-keeping."³

(2) *The G. F. S.*

The Girls' Friendly Society, which was also established in 1875, differs in two important particulars from the M. A. B. Y. S. It is

¹ Report of the Conference, p. 502.

² In explanation of these terms it must be mentioned that of the two classes of girls with which the M. A. B. Y. S. deals, those sent from Poor Law schools and other institutions are called *Centrals*, and those voluntarily coming under the care of the Association from ordinary but very poor houses are called *Locals*.

³ Report of the M. A. B. Y. S. for 1896, pp. 7, 8.

(1) under denominational management,¹ and (2) the care and supervision of Poor Law girls is not the main branch of its work.² Both the societies, however, work in close co-operation, the M. A. B. Y. S. looking after the girls from country workhouses who are to be found in service in London, and the G. F. S. undertaking to mother, watch over, and report upon girls from Metropolitan Poor Law schools who have been placed in service in the country beyond the reach of their own committees of workers.

The Society has a special department for Poor Law work,³ and that it has gained the confidence of Boards of Guardians is shown by the fact that, while in 1880 it was only co-operating with ten Boards of Guardians, in 1896 the number had risen to 450.

The work of the Society, which seeks to encourage purity of life, dutifulness to parents, faithfulness to employers, temperance, and thrift, is generally so well known that we shall not stop to go into detail with regard to it. But from some statistics kindly supplied to us by Miss Grafton as to an important branch of the Society's work in their certified training-homes, it appears that out of 793 girls who have passed through those training-homes during the last ten to eleven years only forty-two have returned to the workhouse as unfit for service or through ill-health.

Mr. Mozley speaks very highly of the work of the Society. Writing in 1886, he said:⁴

"Among the many ladies who take part in the Society it would be too much to expect that all should act judiciously, and ill-advised interference on their part with Poor Law officials has not been unknown. But I have met with an increasing number of cases of late in which ladies belonging to this Society have worked in a manner which is at once unobtrusive, and (I believe) much for the good of the girls whom they visit. I was much pleased lately when a workhouse master of some standing, and in an important Union, said to me of one of these ladies, 'She comes in when she likes, and she

¹ There is, however, no denominational restriction as to membership, and ladies who do not belong to the Church of England can join it and take part in its work as *members*, although they cannot become *associates*.

² There is, of course, the same level of *aim* in all the departments of the Society, and it is fully recognized that in many respects its Poor Law work is the most important.

³ This department of the Society is known as the C. W. O. (Department for Candidates from Workhouses and Orphanages). The real organization of the department dates from 1877, although the idea of helping Poor Law girls was a part of the general scheme of the Society at its beginning in 1875.

The department is now being newly organized so to make its Poor Law work more efficient. The scheme for carrying out this object is printed in Appendix M, p. 425.

⁴ 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 41.

goes where she likes; I do not interfere with her.' From the nature of the case such confidence can hardly be abused without the evidence of the abuse coming to light immediately; and therefore I think it may be assumed that, in this instance, it had not been abused."

The central office of the Society is at 39, Victoria Street, Westminster, s.w. (Secretary, Miss Bowlby), and the present head of the work-houses and orphanages department is Miss Grafton, Heysham Hall, Lancaster.

The above are the two principal societies which are able to take charge of Poor Law girls when they go into service; but there are, of course, many other local societies which do similar work for Boards of Guardians. We have, however, only space to refer to a few of them.

(3) *The Bristol Preventive Mission.*¹

At Bristol there is a Preventive Mission—a branch of the Bristol Female Mission Society—to which the Barton Regis Board of Guardians hands over the entire charge of their girls in service. When they are placed in service, their names and addresses are forwarded to the Free Registry Office of the Mission, which becomes responsible for them until they are sixteen, and sends a quarterly report upon them to the Guardians. If the girls leave their places they come to the office, which is presided over by a lady superintendent and has lodgings attached to it, and a fresh place is found for them; they are encouraged to look on the office as a home, and on its inmates as their friends. If out of place they can be lodged there free of charge, paying only sixpence a day for their board. If the girl has no money she is not refused on that account, but has to pay what she owes out of her first wages.

An experienced schoolmistress writes as follows to Miss Clifford, one of the Guardians, as to the benefits derived from the Preventive Mission:

"No one knows better than myself the benefit our young people have received from this arrangement. When I look back a few years and remember how little girls of thirteen years of age were cast on the world, and left almost entirely to the tender mercies of the master or mistress chosen for them, I wonder they turned out as well as they did; but under the existing rule they are so watched over and cared for, that they have done exceedingly well, in fact the care and pains bestowed upon them have made it almost impossible for them to go wrong."

¹ The Secretary is Miss Sproule, 24, Aberdeen Terrace, Clifton.

(4) *The Bolton Society for Befriending Young Servants.*

This Society, which is established on the model of the London M. A. B. Y. S., and works on the same lines, first undertook the task of looking after the girls who left the Bolton Workhouse School¹ for service, in 1889. Since that time its work has been mainly connected with that class of girls and other girls of the M. A. B. Y. S. type. The difficulties with which the Committee have to contend, and a description of the work of the Society, are well set out in the following extract from a letter which we received from the Hon. Secretary in August, 1896:

"I will write as fully as I can, in order that you may understand as far as possible the condition of life here. As I dare say you know, there is little difficulty in getting work in the factories for half-timers, and children should, generally speaking, be able to work half-time when they reach eleven or twelve years of age. Moreover, there is such a strong prejudice on the part of the working-class girls in favour of work in mills as against service, that the number of girls we have to consider is comparatively small.

"Our Union is a large and scattered district, with a population of about a quarter of a million—nearly 200,000 being urban and the rest rural—and all to some extent manufacturing. It is, therefore, greatly to the advantage of the relatives of any pauper children to get possession of them when they reach a wage-earning age—even only half-time—and we have certainly few children over the age of ten in the cottages belonging to the workhouse. Those who are sent into situations from the workhouse are in many cases only nominally in domestic service, their work being generally to go to the mill and help in the house after factory hours.

"Of the sixty-two children we have had oversight of since we began our work in looking after the workhouse children seven years ago, I can give you particulars of a considerable number. Three quite young children have been regularly adopted by the people they are with. Of the others, nine are in a Roman Catholic factory girls' home, and work at the mill, giving the evenings to the sisters and being kept in return. Twelve other children are placed out either with relatives or others, and are going to the mill. Sixteen are in service of a more or less domestic character—placed out directly by the Guardians. In addition to these sixteen, however, there are nineteen others either in service or preparing for service, sent out from our certified training-home. The remaining child we cannot trace, but she appears to have been taken by relatives.

"We have two homes in connection with the Society; a training-home for service, certified by the Local Government Board, and a servants' home, to which the training-home children can go when

¹ This school ("Cottage Homes") is detached from the workhouse, and has an average of about 100 children. (25 *L. G. B.*, p. 510.) The Union is a large one, with a population (1891) of 266,799.

they are out of situations. We try as far as possible to carry out our visitation of the girls on the same lines as those so successfully initiated by the M. A. B. Y. S., but we find it a great difficulty to get the same attention to details that a business man would give to his own business.

"Lately an effort has been made to get the Guardians to give to our Society the same status as regards the girls from our Union as that which the M. A. B. Y. S. has as regards the London District Schools, but our Board of Guardians is very jealous of what it considers its rights, and prefers that the girls should be visited by the relieving officers."

Of course, Boards of Guardians cannot be too careful about deputing philanthropic agencies to perform duties which the law casts in the first place upon their shoulders; but, where there is a recognized voluntary agency working on the right lines by following the admirable example of the M. A. B. Y. S., they might with advantage, not only to themselves but also to the children, utilise it. The connection between the Board and the Society would, of course, be kept up by the regular reports which the former would receive from the latter on the children; and with ladies both on the Board and on the Committee of the Society a still closer touch between the two would be preserved.

The Honorary Secretary of the Bolton Society is Miss Barlow, Greenthorne, Edgworth, near Bolton.

(5) *The Sheffield House of Help.*¹

It may safely be said that much of the success which has been attributed to the Sheffield system of Isolated Homes is owing to the care and supervision which the managers of this Home of Help exercise over the girls when they leave the Homes. The following account of the kind of work the House of Help does in Sheffield with regard to Poor Law girls has been given to us by the Hon. Secretary (Mrs. Flather):²

"For seven years we have been working on the same lines as at present, but with many disadvantages. Still the result has been very good. On the formation of the Cottage Homes our plans were rearranged in only a very small degree, and are as follow:

"The girls are now kept until they are fifteen years of age, and the home training in the cottages is of the greatest possible advantage. The last three months of the time is spent in the house of the superintendent, whose wife carefully watches over the girls. Her advice, therefore, with regard to the sort of situation a girl is suitable for is very valuable to us.

¹ 1, Paradise Square, Sheffield.

² See also 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 104.

"When a girl is ready for service we now find the first situation and make her outfit, the greater part of which is paid for by the Guardians (£3), the remaining portion being a means of keeping us in touch with the girl, as she joins our Clothing Club and brings her wages to us monthly until the debt is paid. We return to her a fair amount for spending-money, and advise and guide her with regard to any new clothes she may want, and as soon as possible get her to open an account in the Post Office Savings Bank. A small committee of ladies undertake to act as mothers to these girls, each lady knowing her own girls and the girls their lady. A visit is paid at least once a quarter (if the girl is tiresome these visits are paid more frequently). It is our endeavour to make the girl feel and realise that she has only friends at the House of Help, and we find after they once understand the value of this that they are only too glad to come to us in their difficulties as well as their pleasures. If a girl is to leave her situation we try to find her another one to go straight to, and if she were to make the application to be admitted to the workhouse we should be communicated with at once, and should take the girl under our immediate care. The reward of a Bible is given for one year's service in a situation, not necessarily the first, and 5s. in money for their bank account for two years' service in one situation."

Mr. Mozley bears independent testimony to the valuable work of this institution. He says:¹

"The Sheffield Guardians (following Section 33 of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876)² entrust to this Society the supervision of the girls who are sent to service from the workhouse schools" (now, of course, replaced by the Isolated Homes) "The work of supervision is, from all I could learn, very carefully done, and the girls (except when they are reclaimed by relations) are kept in sight for a considerable number of years. They do in many cases well; still there are girls among them who give a great deal of trouble. It is, I think, not every girl who is naturally suited to domestic service."

So far we have merely referred to societies established for assisting the girls after leaving the workhouse or schools. Before going on to refer to what has been and is being done in the same way for the boys, we must emphasise how necessary it is that some society should be established to look after *all* these girls, to do similar work in the provinces to that which is done by the M. A. B. Y. S. in London. Such a society should be, like the M. A. B. Y. S., under undenominational management. It must be remembered that the Poor Law is undenominational, and if voluntary societies are to work in thorough harmony and co-operation with it, they must be undenominational too. There can be no doubt that the confidence which is reposed by London Boards of Guardians in the M. A. B. Y. S. is largely owing to the fact

¹ 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 104.

² See *ante*, p. 295.

that it was founded and is worked on a broad basis. The society suggested would be a valuable auxiliary to the Girls' Friendly Society, and, seeing that so few agencies have been established for the after-care and supervision of Poor Law boys, it might take up this work also in London as well as for the provinces.

"Boys certainly fight their way in the world better than girls, but they need help nevertheless, even after the age of sixteen, which is the limit of time during which the Act of Parliament prescribes that they should be visited."¹

Such is Mr. Mozley's opinion, and Mr. Holgate's is the same. The latter, referring to the provision which had been made in his district for the voluntary visiting of girls, a system which he considered as "undoubtedly more acceptable to the employers and more advantageous to the girls than the formal and less welcome visit of the relieving or other officer specially appointed under Act of Parliament," expressed his regret that it had not been the good fortune of the boys to be so well cared for.

"And though they in some respects may be able to hold their own on being placed out in the world, it is very desirable that they too should feel that they have some individual friend to apply to in any difficulty they may meet with."²

We will now proceed to describe some of the institutions which have been established for the benefit of boys after they have left the workhouse or school for service or employment.

(1) *The Young Men's Friendly Society.*

The object of the Poor Law Department of this Society is to find visitors for boys leaving the workhouse or schools, and to do generally for them what the Girls' Friendly Society does for girls. The Society has, however, had such difficulties in finding helpers in this field that its Poor Law work is almost *nil*.³ In Kensington one of its branches has been replaced by the Kensington Lads' Union. This Union is an illustration of what the Society could do if workers were only forthcoming.

(2) *The Kensington Lads' Union.*

Up to 1894 this Union was a branch of the Young Men's Friendly Society, and it is still affiliated to it. The Union was formed for the

¹ 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 150.

² 22 *L. G. B.*, p. 111.

³ See the Annual Report of the Society for 1896, p. 13.

benefit of the boys discharged from the Kensington and Chelsea District Schools at Banstead. When a boy leaves the schools the superintendent sends the following notice to Mrs. Lascelles :

**KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA DISTRICT SCHOOL,
BANSTEAD, SURREY.**

..... 18

The Superintendent begs to acquaint you that the undermentioned went from or were re-admitted to the school on the dates and in the manner stated.

SENT FROM SCHOOL TO SERVICE.

Name of Child.	Age.	Parish to which chargeable.	Date sent out.	Name, Address, etc., of Employer, and Observations.

RE-ADMITTED FROM SERVICE TO SCHOOL.*

* This does not imply that when a child fails in service he is sent back to the school. It only refers to children sent back during the trial month.

Mrs. Lascelles then takes the boy in hand. At the end of every year she sends to the superintendent an annual report for the information of the Guardians of each parish upon all the boys she has under her care, with a special mark against each. The superintendent makes what remarks he likes upon her report, and passes it on to the Guardians.

From the last Annual Report of this Lads' Union, it appears that no less than 217 boys are on its books. They are scattered over the United Kingdom, India, and America, and with few exceptions are kept in sight, a Christmas letter being sent to each, and those at a distance being commended to clergymen and others. Of the 217, 98 have joined the Union, and receive special attention.

Those who are curious to learn more about this Lads' Union may refer to the evidence of Mrs. Lascelles¹ and Mr. Harston before the Departmental Committee.

The following interesting account of the work done by Mrs. Lascelles, Hon. Secretary, and her helpers is taken from Mr. Wyndham Holgate's Report for 1894.²

"The honorary secretary and her helpers visit and correspond with the lad and his master, or with the officers and chaplain of his regiment if enlisted as a band-boy. Every Sunday afternoon the house of the honorary secretary is open to any of these lads, and here they not only meet each other, but the ladies are enabled to gain the confidence and give advice. Once a year there is an old scholars' meeting and entertainment which is largely attended. There is a card of membership to the Lads' Union, under which they promise to abstain from certain evils, and endeavour to act up to certain good habits, all of which points are printed on the card in short, simple and practical terms. If a lad falls ill he is, if necessary, helped to a hospital or convalescent home, or sent to some friend for a change of air, and there is an idea of setting on foot a house of their own at the seaside for such purpose. If a lad should get out of employment he is helped as opportunity arises to another situation; and in all matters affecting the lads there is frequent correspondence between the honorary secretary and the superintendent at Banstead, so that useful information coming to the one is sent to the other. Annual Reports are issued giving details of each case under the following heads:—Name, date of birth, date of leaving school, address, employer, character, general remarks."

The Guardians, who take a kindly interest in the work, report that the boys do not return to the workhouse so often as they used to do before Mrs. Lascelles undertook the work of supervision. A spirit of independence is noted in them, which says much for the training in the District School. It is also interesting to know that the expense connected with the work is very trifling, as it entails little more than writing and correspondence.³

(3) *The South Metropolitan School District Visiting Association.*

In the report of the Departmental Committee no District School comes in for severer criticism than the South Metropolitan, so much so that one of the Committee, the Rev. Brooke Lambert, was obliged to protest in a separate memorandum against the way in which they were treated.⁴ It gives us, therefore, the more pleasure to refer to a system

¹ Mrs. Lascelles' address is 31, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.

² 24 *L. G. B.*, p. 72.

³ Evidence before the Departmental Committee, Qs. 7127-28.

⁴ Report, p. 174.

of visiting boys after they have left school for employment, which was adopted by the school managers about five years ago. It was formulated in September, 1892, the object being to keep in touch with these boys. In March, 1895, at the time when Mr. Steer, the secretary of the scheme, gave evidence before the Departmental Committee,¹ 203 boys were under supervision. The object of the scheme is to find a visitor for each boy sent out from the school to employment. There were 109 of such visitors in 1895. These visitors are found by individual school managers or officers who know the boys, and they undertake to visit the boys at regular intervals, and to report upon them quarterly to the Rev. Brooke Lambert. The scheme has been carried out under Section 33 of the Act of 1876, to which we have already referred.² A full account of its method of working will be found in Mr. Steer's evidence.³ It has already effected a very good work,⁴ the number of boys reported on increasing year by year, as the following statistics show (it will be observed that the classification is now very detailed):—

CLASSIFICATION. ⁵	NUMBER OF BOYS UNDER CARE.				PERCENTAGE OF BOYS IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES.			
	1893	1894	1895	1896	1893	1894	1895	1896
Good	47	123	211	294	60.9	68.7	68.3	65
Fairly Good	7	12	19	19	9.1	6.7	6.3	4.2
Gone to relations; doing well	6	27	20	55	7.8	15.1	6.4	12.2
Gone to relations; no further record			31	50			10.0	11.1
Dead	...	...	1	3	...	...	.3	.7
Not traced	1	6	9	5	1.3	3.4	2.9	1.1
Not reported on	13	...	2	11	17.0	...	.6	2.4
In Union Infirmary	...	2	4	2	...	1.1	1.3	.4
In Workhouse	...		4	4	...		1.3	.9
Unsatisfactory	3	8	8	9	3.9	4.5	2.6	2.0
Visit refused by master	...	1	...	...	...	0.5	...	...
Totals	77	179	309	452	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Evidence, pp. 729-731.

² *Ante*, p. 295.

³ Evidence, pp. 729-731.

⁴ See 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 155.

⁵ The following explanation of the classification has been kindly sent to us by Mr. Steer. It also gives interesting details of the boys reported upon in 1896.

"'Good' refers to boys who have remained in their situations, and whose employers give them good characters. Boys who are reported as doing well in the army, and some young men who are now reported as being able to provide for themselves, are also included.

"'Fairly Good.' These boys have kept their situations, but are only doing fairly well.

"'Gone to relations; doing well.' These are the boys who for various reasons have left their situations, and are living with their relations. They are all in

To the third Annual Memorandum on the boys sent out from the South Metropolitan District Schools (1894-95) are appended a few specimen cases which illustrate the value of keeping up the connection with the boys after they leave the schools, and Mr. Brooke Lambert comments on them as follows:

"In 1 I think the boy's health would have suffered

"In 2 the boy would certainly have drifted into the ranks of the unemployed.

"In 3 the aid given by an old boy is to be noted as a satisfactory but not uncommon circumstance.

"ILLUSTRATIVE CASES.

"1. John — was sent away to a situation, which after a time he left to live with his sister. For some time he worked at a lithographer's, but he was not happy; he had been used to horses, and was anxious to get among them; upon the recommendation of his master, who gave him an excellent character, he was, by the help of the Rev. Brooke Lambert, placed in another situation, where he will have entire charge of four horses. He is doing well.

"2. Frederick — was lost sight of, through his master giving up his business. He was entered as 'not traced' in last year's report. In November last he called on Rev. Brooke Lambert, who, after inquiry, obtained him a situation. He was apprenticed as a waterman, and is going on well.

employment, and many of them are earning good wages. In appearance and manners they are among the best of the old boys who visit the school.

"'Gone to relations; no further record.' These boys have left their situations and the only information we have is that they are living with their relations. Then our record ceases, but as the boys are absorbed into the general population it is only fair to assume that a goodly proportion of them may be classed as satisfactory.

"'Dead.' This is a low rate of mortality which speaks highly of the general health of the boys when they leave the school. Of these three deaths, which are spread over a period of four years, one was the result of a cart accident.

"'Not traced.' The only reports to hand respecting these boys are that 'The master has removed,' or that 'The shop is closed.'

"'Not reported on.' These are a few boys who have been recently sent out and about whom reports are not yet to hand.

"'In Union Infirmary.' One case is that of an epileptic, and the other a boy with chronic ophthalmia. Both lads bear good characters.

"'In workhouse.' This is a very unsatisfactory entry. The four cases are as follows:—

(a) "Went to infirmary with bad hands, and drifted into the workhouse.

(b) "Was returned to workhouse owing to dirty habits.

(c) "Was returned to workhouse as a confirmed thief.

(d) "The visitor reports: 'I am trying to keep ——— out of the workhouse but I do not know with what success.'

"'Unsatisfactory.' Of these nine boys seven absconded from their situations, or was dishonest, and one was dismissed from the Boys' Home as being violent and noisy."

"3. Joseph — was discharged from the home to which he was sent, and wandered about homeless for two days. He found a friend in the person of an old Sutton School boy, who took him home, found him lodgings and a situation. He is now doing well.

"As examples of the difficulties sometimes met with in carrying out a scheme of this kind, we may mention the following two cases:—

"4. Charles — was sent to a situation. He ran away to his brother, who was unable to help him, and the lad was obliged to go to the workhouse. Miss Thompson, with the help of other managers, endeavoured to give the boy another start in life, and he was placed in a boys' home. Here he stayed some months, but the latest news we have of him was that he had absconded. Nothing further is known of him at present.

"5. Albert — was enticed away from his situation by his mother. After a time he was placed in a boys' home, where he gained a good character. His bad mother enticed him home, where he lived in want for some time. Another situation was, by the kindness of the visitor, found for him, but, as his mother pawned his clothes and used his money, it was necessary to remove him once more. He is now in another boys' home, where he is well spoken of, and, up to the present, his mother has left him alone."

In the Appendix we have printed the fourth Annual Memorandum on the boys sent out from the schools of the South Metropolitan District, which incidentally illustrates the value of the training and education which they receive.¹

Another way of helping boys during their first year of employment is by providing homes for them. In London there are the Working Boys' Homes, but which take other boys in addition to those coming from the Poor Law Schools.

(1) *The Homes for Working Boys in London.*

There are now seven of these Homes distributed in different parts of the Metropolis. They will accommodate 340 boys. The boys are not employed in the Homes but are engaged in situations outside, as shop-boys, errand-boys, printers, outdoor apprentices, etc. The boys pay for their lodging according to the amount of their earnings. The objects and rules of the Homes are as follows:

"These Homes afford accommodation to 340 homeless boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, who are able to work and earn wages, but have no homes to save them from the temptations of common lodging-houses.

"These may be divided into three classes:

1. London boys who have no homes.

¹ Appendix L, p. 423.

2. Country boys who, having lost their parents, or under other circumstances, have come to London seeking employment.
3. Boys who have been inmates of industrial schools, refuges, or workhouse schools, and who have been placed in situations in London.

"The lads are *not* employed in the Homes, but are engaged in situations outside, as shop-boys, errand-boys, printers, outdoor apprentices, etc.

"Boys of respectable character are admitted at once on their personal application at the Homes, or on the recommendation of employers of labour, or friends.

"Most of the boys earn sufficient wages to board and clothe themselves; but in a few cases help has at first to be obtained from friends to enable them to do this.

"Many of those admitted already have situations; while, in other cases, temporary assistance is given to enable the boy to maintain himself until he has found employment.

"The Superintendent supplies food to the boys at the rate of 4s. 6d. per week (which covers the cost); while those who can afford it are able to obtain additional food at reasonable prices.

"The charges for lodging are as follows:

Boys earning 6s. pay . . .	1s. 0d. per week.
" 7s. " . . .	1s. 2d. "
" 8s. " . . .	1s. 4d. "
" 9s. " . . .	1s. 6d. "
" 10s. " . . .	2s. 0d. "
" 11s. " . . .	2s. 3d. "
" 12s. to 15s. . .	2s. 6d. "

"Each boy is required to be home by 9.30 in the evening, to attend public worship on Sunday, and, during the winter, on certain nights in the week, classes for instruction.

"A library, reading-room, and, in some of the Homes, a gymnasium, are provided free of charge, and every effort is made to improve the moral and physical condition of the boys, to make them good workmen, and, what is far more important, by telling them of the Saviour's love, and, by Christian training, to fit them for the Eternal Home in the world to come.

"The Committee's endeavour is 'to help those who help themselves,' by providing Homes in various districts of the Metropolis for homeless working boys who are anxious to gain an honest living; at the same time to afford them healthy recreation, and, above all, to surround them with Christian influences and friendly guidance at the most critical period of their lives.

RULES FOR THE RESIDENTS.

"*Admission.*—1. No boy will be admitted from any other Home without a letter of recommendation from the superintendent of such Home.

"*Leaving Home.*—2. Any boy wishing to leave the Home is expected to give a week's notice.

"*Food*.—3. Every boy is boarded by the Superintendent on the payment of 4s. 6d. per week, in accordance with a dietary scale, which has been approved by the Committee.

4. Boys (whose earnings enable them to do so) may obtain extras from the Superintendent at a regulated price.

"*Washing*.—5. Every boy pays for his personal washing except those earning 6s. per week, who are allowed 3d. weekly from the Committee.

"*Clothes*.—6. Each boy must provide his own clothing. Any (who can afford it) not keeping themselves decently clothed will not be permitted to remain in the Home.

"*Bank*.—7. Every boy is expected to put into the Savings Bank not less than half the amount left of his wages after paying for board, lodging, and washing, in order to provide for clothes.

A.—Money left in the Savings Bank of the Home will have interest allowed on it at the following rate:

1d. per month on 5s.	1½d. per month on 10s.
2d. " " 15s.	3d. " " 20s.

B.—No interest will be allowed except on round sums of 5s., 10s., 15s., and £1, the interest to commence the first of each month after date of deposit, up to £5, when the interest will be at the Post Office Savings Bank rate.

"*Employment*.—8. No boy is to leave his situation without the consent of the Superintendent; any boy so doing will be liable to be dismissed from the Home.

9. If a boy out of work does not obtain employment within a fortnight he must leave the Home.

"*Daily Routine*.—10. Every boy must be washed and ready to attend family worship by 9.30 p.m., unless permission be given to the contrary; and, except under special circumstances, no boy will be admitted after 10 o'clock p.m.

11. Every boy must make his bed and wash before breakfast, and take a bath once a week in the bath-room of the Home.

12. No boy will be allowed to have his boots on in the bedroom.

13. Those who can leave work in time must attend one of the classes for instruction during the week.

"*Sundays*.—14. On Sunday morning every boy must attend such place of worship as may be appointed.

15. No tea will be provided on Sundays after the usual time.

16. On Sunday evening the boys must attend a Bible Class in the Home, but arrangements may from time to time be made by the Superintendent for taking them out to an evening service.

17. Leave of absence can be granted on Sundays at the discretion of the Superintendent.

"*Smoking*.—18. No boy will be allowed to smoke in or in the neighbourhood of the Home.

"*Behaviour*.—19. Any boy wilfully damaging the goods or property of the Home will be fined or made to pay the cost, or, if the offender cannot be traced, the whole of the boys shall pay their share of the same.

20. Any boy throwing food about, guilty of dirty habits, or using bad language will be fined or dismissed.

21. Every boy must obey the orders of the Superintendent and Matron. Any rudeness or disobedience will subject him to dismissal."

Nine of the thirty London Unions subscribe to the Homes, and the larger portion of their inmates come either from Industrial or the Poor Law Schools. We refer to the reports of the superintendents of these Homes upon the latter class of boys in Appendix A.¹ These reports vary considerably, but from the annual report of the Committee of the Homes for 1895 we find it stated that the boys "do not always show the same vigour and intelligence as we find in those who come to us from other sources," although the boys received from Industrial Schools compared very unfavourably as regards "results" with them. It must, however, not be forgotten that it is not the best class of "Poor Law" boys who take advantage of the Homes.

There are Homes for working boys in other cities and towns besides London. We need only give one instance.

(2) *The Lincoln Working Boys' Aid Society.*

This Society was established in 1891, with the object of helping boys who had been in the workhouse school by providing a home for them, and by aiding them with grants towards maintenance and clothing until they could earn sufficient to maintain themselves entirely. The Home thus established² seems to have been very successful. It has accommodation for eight lodgers. Six workhouse boys were there in 1895, and another workhouse boy who was in the Royal Navy twice took up his abode there during the holidays. All the boys were in constant work and doing well.

Mr. Mozley refers in his 1895 Report to this Home as illustrating how the difficulty of continuing a boy's training after he has left the workhouse or school may be surmounted.³ And in this connection his account of the Buckley Hall (Roman Catholic) certified school will be found interesting.⁴

"Over and above the 200 boys (I speak in round numbers) who are being taught scholastically, there are some fifty boys who have passed the school age, and who stay in the institution learning some trade till they reach the age of eighteen. They are then qualified to work as 'improvers,' as it is called; and this practically means that they can maintain themselves at the trade. The chief trades taught here are tailoring, shoemaking, wood-carving, and printing. The plan is, I think, a very good one, but it must be observed that between the ages of fourteen and eighteen these boys are supported out of those private funds which went to the original founding of the institution. Not all the boys at Buckley Hall are sent there by Boards of Guardians, but the greater number are so, and for these, up to the

¹ *Proc.*, p. 362. ² Witham House, St. Swithin's (Hon. Sec., Miss A. Mitchinson).

³ 25 *L. G. B.*, pp. 225, 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*

age of fourteen, 5s. a week is paid by the Boards who respectively send them. In an ordinary Poor Law School this plan could not be imitated, but if a 'home' were provided for the boys by private persons after they left the school the difficulty would be met."

The experience of such Homes shows how much they are wanted both for boys and girls, and especially for girls. But they are also most useful as providing places other than the school or the workhouse to which girls and boys can go, and be certain of finding friendly help and advice when out of employment or situation. The scarcity of such Homes is keenly felt by Guardians and by the officers of workhouses and schools.

In a recent interesting report on the St. John's Home at Ipswich, the committee of management refer to this point. They say:

"There is one improvement that might easily be effected in St. John's Home if only the consent of the Local Government Board could be obtained to it. The majority of the children who leave St. John's Home are necessarily without home ties, and often with no relations but such as would drag them down. It is hard for a girl, and, though to a less extent, for a boy, to be so situated. There should be some place other than the workhouse where in case of need they could go. The superintendent and matron of St. John's Home have felt this so strongly that they have received young people sent out from St. John's Home in the intervals between their situations and in their holidays, as their own guests at their own cost, rather than see them sent adrift into the world. It is not right, however, that this expense should be cast upon them, and it would be well that the Local Government Board should be again asked to consent to the Guardians receiving those who have been sent out from St. John's Home in that institution, at any rate till they are twenty years old, when temporarily out of situation, and in holidays, or from any reason incapacitated from work."

We have quoted from this report to show how strongly Guardians feel on the point, but we are doubtful as to the wisdom of this particular proposal. Surely it would be better for Boards of Guardians to support Homes established for the reception of their boys and girls who may be temporarily out of situation or employment, such as those at Bristol and Lincoln; to which we have referred.

There can be no doubt that the "after-care" of boys and girls for the first few years after going out to work for their own living opens up a promising field of public usefulness for other persons than Guardians only. It is true that many Guardians and masters and matrons of workhouses and schools have devoted, and are at the present time devoting, much attention to the subject, but they require the sympathy and help of others. Boards of Guardians and School Managers are

not asked to surrender any of their powers and responsibilities to irresponsible authorities, nor can they do so even in the case of so admirably administered a society as the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants. This Association is bound to report regularly to the various Poor Law authorities upon the girls of whom it undertakes the supervision. While the Guardians are never released from their responsibility for the children, they know very well that the Association can do the work much more efficiently than they could do it through their own officers.

Undoubtedly the hands of the Guardians require to be strengthened in regard to the care and control of the children after they have left the workhouse or school. How this can be done we hope to show in another chapter.¹ But even as the law stands at present, we are firmly of opinion that in no branch of Poor Law work is the hearty co-operation of compulsory and voluntary effort more necessary than in that which is concerned with the question of "after-care."

¹ See *post*, p. 341.

CHAPTER XII.

"INS AND OUTS"

BOARDS of Guardians are bound by law to relieve "destitute" children. They have nothing to do with the cause of their destitution. This is a point which many of those who criticise the education and training of children under the Poor Law are apt to forget. It raises special difficulties which scarcely trouble the ordinary educational authorities at all. For instance, children may be thrown on the hands of Guardians who are found, even at the age of twelve or thirteen, to have received no education at all.

But undoubtedly the main difficulty arises from the Guardians having to deal with that class of children who from constantly coming in and going out of the workhouse or the school are known as "ins and outs" or "revolvers." These children are naturally a disturbing element in the life of a Poor Law School. They may not only influence the "permanent" children for evil, but if at any time afterwards they come upon the rates for support, their "failure" is ascribed to the education (it may have lasted for only a month) which they have received at the hands of the Guardians. As an illustration of this difficulty we may refer to the statistics given by Mr. Birkby, the Superintendent of the Swinton Schools, which we have already quoted in a previous chapter,¹ and which showed that out of 700 children at Swinton only four had been in the schools for the generally accepted term of school life (*i.e.*, nine years). As regards the Metropolitan schools we have only to look at the figures given in Chapter xi. of the Report of the Departmental Committee to realise how great this difficulty is.

To give other instances. At Forest Gate Schools, containing 700 children, the number of discharges was 525 in one year and 540 in another, while the number of children sent into employment during the same year from these schools was only seventy.

Dr. Bridges has given the following interesting figures in his Report

¹ *Ante*, p. 129.

"On the Health of Metropolitan Pauper Schools for seven years, 1883-89."¹

"ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES INTO AND FROM METROPOLITAN PAUPER SCHOOLS.

"*District Schools, 1889.*

	Admissions.	Discharges.
South Metropolitan Schools . . .	1397	1373
Central London " . . .	355	513
North Surrey " . . .	322	397
West London " . . .	557	516
Forest Gate " . . .	395	457
Kensington and Chelsea Schools . . .	172	241

3198

3497

"*Separate Schools.*

	Admissions.	Discharges.
Bethnal Green . . .	563	554
St. George's in the East . . .	244	212
Hackney . . .	204	231
Islington . . .	419	439
Holborn . . .	342	339
Lambeth . . .	478	431
St. Marylebone . . .	300	299
Mile End . . .	407	396
St. Pancras . . .	380	387
Shoreditch . . .	257	29
Strand . . .	105	225
Westminster . . .	69	50

3768

3592

"In all, then, there were 6966 admissions and 7089 discharges; as the average population of these schools may be taken at 11,190, it appears that the annual admissions amount to 63 per cent., and the discharges to 64 per cent., of the total population. In other words, the population is in the highest degree fluctuating.

"It is of course obvious that the difficulty of excluding diseases, especially of a contagious or infectious sort, must be much greater than in ordinary orphanages, where the vast majority of the population is stationary."

During the year 1893-4, 8102 children were admitted and 7604 were discharged from the District and Separate Schools, while the number of *individual* children admitted was 7149.² No fewer than 697 children were admitted more than once during the same year, and 176 were admitted more than twice.³

Mrs. Nassau Senior in her celebrated Report of 1874 classified the children in schools as follows: (1) orphans; (2) deserted, and those whose parents are in the wards for the sick and infirm; and (3) casuals.⁴ The first class are the "permanent" children, and are those

¹ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 161. See also his Report for 1874, where similar tables are given.

² Report of Departmental Committee, vol. iii. pp. 5 and 12.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 3 *L. G. B.*, p. 314.

who do Boards of Guardians the most credit. The very large majority of the second class are also "permanent." This class includes (a) those children who have been abandoned by their parents, who may, however, turn up and claim them, or be discovered and forced to provide for them, or be compelled to go into the workhouse themselves; and (b) those children whose parents may be incapacitated, or whose mother may be a widow. These children are not so frequently taken away by their parents as to justify their being put with the third class. The children who belong to this latter class, the casuals, are now more generally known as the "ins and outs."

"These are the children whose parents are constantly in and out of the workhouse, bringing their families in with them for a few days or weeks, and then taking them out, perhaps to be dragged about the country from vagrant ward to vagrant ward, perhaps to be placed for a brief period in some dingy lodging; in either case, owing to the parents' migratory habits, attending no school for any length of time, and receiving no training likely to remove them from the ranks of pauperism. For these, education has to be provided at the workhouse during their brief visits. It can be in the nature of things only a broken education, carried on under difficulties rendered all the greater by the removal to the separate schools of the children most likely to influence for good their fellow scholars. There is slight opportunity for any industrial training, and usually frequent intercourse with adult paupers."¹

Mrs. Nassau Senior seems to have been the first to have suggested increased power of detention being given to Boards of Guardians in regard to these "ins and outs" in cases where they were constantly being received into and removed from the schools. Nor would she have stopped here. She was very strongly of opinion that the parents themselves who were in the habit of going in and out of the workhouse with their children should be deprived of their liberty and made to work. As practically nothing has been done to carry out her recommendations, it will be well to quote what she says, especially as public opinion has for some years been tending in that direction.²

"Existing regulations require that the child shall, in all cases, accompany the parent, as often as the latter takes his discharge from the workhouse. It thus happens that the children whom I have called casuals are sometimes taken away from school as many as six times in the course of a year;³ during these absences there is frequently a

¹ Per Mr. Jenner Fust, 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 132. ² 3 *L. G. B.*, pp. 335, 336.

³ This is a very rare occurrence now. During the year 1893-94 only two children were admitted to the schools more than six times. (See Appendix to the Report of the Departmental Committee, vol. iii. pp. 5-12.) The real difficulty with "ins and outs" children is now not so much connected with the management of the schools as

relapse into bad habits, and in many cases the children are exposed to the most corrupting influences.

"I am aware that it is not thought expedient to allow a parent to go free and leave his child a burden on the rates, and that this consideration, combined with that of the sacredness of the tie between parent and child, has caused the present regulation to be kept in force.¹

"It can, however, be no economy of public money to insist on the children of a reckless and vagrant parent following in his steps; on the contrary, such a course must entail a far heavier burden on the nation in the time to come.

"I should like to see the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866 (29 & 30 Vict. ch. 118), extended, so that the magistrates or proper authority might have power to order the detention of pauper children at school.

"Many of the pauper children (who are sent from school to join their vagrant parents) would come under the following description of children who may be dealt with under Clause 14 of the Industrial Schools Act, viz.: 'Any child apparently under the age of fourteen years that is found begging or receiving alms (whether actually or under pretext of selling or offering for sale anything), or being in any street or public place for the purpose of so begging or receiving alms, that is found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence, that is

with that of the workhouse. Very interesting evidence on this point was given to the Departmental Committee. (See Report, p. 72.) Thus the master of the Marylebone Workhouse made a return showing the number of admissions and discharges of certain families during the year 1893-4. "The return contains particulars of eleven families representing the more prominent 'ins and outs' for Marylebone Workhouse. One family of three children between the 3rd of October, 1893, and the 19th November, 1894, were in and out of the workhouse, admitted and discharged sixty-two times. Another family of four were in and out forty-three times in that period, and another has been in and out of the workhouse between July 25th and November 21st, 1894, sixteen times." In the probationary ward of the Holborn Schools at Mitcham were found several "in and out" children who scarcely ever got into the school, or if they did, only for short periods. "Three girls named W— had been constantly in and out of the workhouse and of the quarantine wards, their mother being in the habit of taking them away in order to nurse herself. She was unable to maintain the children, and would probably drift about the streets until she thought fit to seek readmission to the workhouse." Mr. Clay, the Clerk to the Shoreditch Board of Guardians, said that during the year 1894, fifty-two children had passed through the Hornchurch Cottage Homes "who might be regarded as belonging to 'ins and outs,' that is to say, who have been admitted and readmitted during that time with varying periods of residence at the homes, and a further reference to the admission and discharge book of the workhouse will show that during the same period there have been 166 children of three years of age and upwards, who, following their admission, were discharged before time or opportunity availed for their transfer to the Cottage Homes."

¹ Notwithstanding the regulation that a child cannot be removed from the care of its parent upon the latter's discharge, Boards of Guardians do not usually allow parent alone to leave temporarily to seek work, but that the Local Government Board would not object to such a course.

found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment, that frequents the company of reputed thieves.'

"The definition 'found wandering without any home or settled place of abode,' or 'without proper guardianship,' refers to moral habits and character, as I believe it is taken to do by the magistrates who order children to be sent to industrial schools.

"To carry out my views a clause would have to be added to the Act, authorising the magistrates, on the representation of the matron or superintendent, or of one or more of the Guardians, to order the detention of a child at school, on the parents taking their discharge.

"And here I venture to make a suggestion which, knowing the tenderness of the English law with regard to the liberty of the subject (a tenderness with which I fully sympathize), I put forward with some hesitation.

"The tendency of such a plan as I have just proposed would be, it will be alleged, to offer a premium to parents whose habits make them least sensible of their responsibility towards their children, to divest themselves of an unpleasant burden. To meet such an objection I venture to propose that the principle of the law (34 & 35 Vict. ch. 108) by which vagrants are, under certain circumstances, detainable in Unions, be extended, and its provisions made applicable to all vagrant parents, *i.e.*, to those who have entered and discharged themselves (say) three times in one year. We must face the fact that there is a class of persons in existence who are determined to make a livelihood out of that which was intended to be a provision only in cases of unavoidable destitution. Those persons ought, I think, not only to be detained for a short time, like the casual paupers mentioned in the Act, but set to work in separate workhouses, at least till they had repaid their maintenance.

"There are acres of half-cultivated and unreclaimed land where these paupers, segregated from the influences which have created in them a vicious temperament, might learn the blessing of work, and be returned to society as useful members. Let such an institution be set on foot in the Yorkshire moors, where the agricultural produce would find a ready market in the neighbouring manufacturing towns, and the first outlay would soon be repaid, and the annual expenditure provided for; and let the children of paupers detained in such an institution be kept at school close by, to develop in a purer atmosphere some of the physical strength without which they are too likely to tread in their parents' footsteps.

"Such a suggestion needs more elaboration than I can, in the space at present left to me, give it; but I make it, not only in the interests of the children, who are under present circumstances sacrificed to the misconduct of the parents, who might by it be reformed.

"Notwithstanding the difficulty of legislating on such a question as this, I cannot help expressing the opinion that something ought to be done in this matter, and that some plans should be formed under which the pauper children would find the protection they so much require."

The arguments in favour of giving Boards of Guardians further powers to detain the children we are now speaking of have never been stated more fully and clearly; but, unless we may accept the Poor Law Act of 1889¹ and the Custody of Children Act, 1891,² as steps in that direction, nothing has been done by Parliament in the matter since Mrs. Nassau Senior wrote her Report. The Act of 1889 enables Guardians to detain children who have come under their care, as having been deserted by their parents, up to the age of sixteen (if boys) and of eighteen (if girls), and the Act of 1891 enacted that—

“Where a parent has (a) abandoned or deserted his child; or (b) allowed his child to be brought up by another person at that person's expense, or by the Guardians of a Poor Law Union for such a length of time, and under such circumstances as to satisfy the Court that the parent was unmindful of his parental duties; the Court shall not make an order for the delivery of the child to the parent, unless the parent has satisfied the Court that, having regard to the welfare of the child, he is a fit person to have the custody of the child.”

It will be seen that these Acts leave the real question very much as it was before. Mrs. Nassau Senior appreciated the difficulty in the way of going any further, for it must be evident that if Guardians are to be given further powers of detention with regard to all “ins and outs” children, there must be some contemporaneous legislation for dealing with their parents. This has been the one difficulty. A very great authority, Mr. W. Vallance, the Clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians, who has had a long experience of the evil, has suggested that legislation in the matter might take the following form:

That (1) where an able-bodied pauper of the ordinary class (*i.e.*, not a vagrant) has been the inmate of a workhouse at intervals ranging over a period of twelve months, and has during a period of one month been admitted to the workhouse on more than three occasions, he shall be deemed an habitual pauper, and liable to be taken before a Justice.

(2) When brought before a Justice he shall be liable, at the discretion of the Justice, having regard to all the circumstances, to be convicted and sent to a workhouse or farm colony to be specified, there to be detained and trained to a useful life during a period of not less than three months; and (3) where a man or woman becomes an habitual pauper and convicted of such an offence, the Guardians should have power to assume the control of the children,

¹ 52 & 53 Vict. ch. 56.

² 54 & 55 Vict. ch. 3, s. 3.

and the Act of 1889 be extended to the children of "habitual" paupers.

Mr. Vallance, therefore, practically adopts Mrs. Nassau Senior's views.¹

Indeed, how much reason there is for some legislation in this direction is illustrated by the evidence which was given to the Departmental Committee. For example, the following are some of the cases given by Mr. Carter, the Master of the Greenwich Workhouse, and which will be found in the Report of the Committee, p. 72:

"T. N. is a travelling tinker by trade. He has four boys, and for three months at a stretch he has prevented us from sending these children to the school, by taking them off just before the Sutton day, and coming back directly after it.

"D. is a general labourer, who has three boys and a girl, and he has been in and out, on an average, once a week.

"E. is a woman with a girl six years old, and that means that for two years the girl has been eligible for school, and she has never been yet. When the day comes round for sending the girl to school the mother discharges herself and takes the child out.

"Then there is a family named W. At present they are out, but the husband is very drunken, and I believe has been at an asylum at one time. The wife separated from him, as she could not live with him at all. He was continually taking his two boys out in the same way. He would take them out of the workhouse and leave them somewhere out in the district from the early morning, and then meet them again at night, and bring them back to the workhouse, so that when the children came back they had had practically nothing to eat at all, and had wandered about in the cold until they came back at night."

¹ The following resolutions were passed at a Conference of London Guardians on the 8th October, 1896:

1. "That where an able-bodied pauper of the ordinary class has been an inmate of a workhouse at intervals ranging over a period of twelve months, and who during a period of one month has been admitted to the workhouse on more than one occasion, he may be deemed an habitual pauper, and thereupon liable to be taken before a Justice, and when brought before a Justice shall be liable, at the discretion of the Justice, having regard to all the circumstances, to be convicted and sent to a workhouse or farm colony, to be specified, and there to be detained and trained to a useful life during a period of not less than three months.

"That the Act of 1889 be so extended as to give the Guardians power to assume control of the children.

"That, in addition, the Local Government Board be requested to take measures to amend section 4 of the Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Act, 1871, by extending the several periods of detention named therein from

24 hours to 48 hours in the first case;

48 hours to 96 hours in the second case; and

72 hours to 144 hours in the third case.

2. "That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the Local Government Board, and that a deputation consisting of one member from each Board represented at this meeting, be appointed to wait on the Local Government Board in support thereof."

We shall all agree with Mr. Carter when he says that such people are more fit for punishment than the workhouse.

Nor do we disagree with the opinion of the Departmental Committee that such a state of things is cruel and disastrous in every respect; that the children, who are so frequently admitted and discharged, suffer in health and are deprived of the advantages of education; that the administration of the school is impaired; and that the permanent children in the school are often liable to be contaminated physically and morally by the "ins and outs."¹

Then, "it should also be borne in mind that to allow parents to find good food, clothes, and lodging for their children whenever it may suit their convenience, tends to deaden the sense of parental responsibility. That such parents care little for the best interests of their children is proved by the reckless way in which they remove them from the schools for their own purposes, though lacking the means of supporting or educating them."²

Thus Mr. Aslett, the superintendent of the Hammersmith branch schools, says:³

"I have actually met children, who were in my school one day, begging outside the school next day with the parent. I remember a case, perhaps I may not give the name, but the man I remember distinctly; he had a hand-organ, and the very boy who was in my school the day before was standing by his side begging, and I have also had other cases. I had a case of a family of five children who were taken out by their parents one bitter cold winter day, and they ran away from the parents and came back and rang the school bell, asking me if I would take them in, which, of course, unfortunately I could not do."

There cannot, we think, be the least doubt that the only remedy for the evil is to detain the parents of these children as well as the children themselves; for it would be in the highest degree unwise to detain only the children and let the parents go free. They belong to a class from which it would be almost impossible to extract any contribution towards the cost of maintaining the children, and to punish them in the way suggested would be the only deterrent. Mr. Jenner Fust can see no other remedy for this and acknowledged evil.

"Until public opinion," he says, "will sanction the detention of worthless parents pending their children's education, the remedy of the latter from parents who are bringing them into the schools is impossible."

¹ Report, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ Evidence before the Departmental Committee, Q. 7723.

often vicious habits, it is to be feared little can be done" to prevent it.¹

It is clearly this detention of the so-called "free" man which has frightened our legislators from attempting to deal with the evil, for Mr. Knollys acknowledged to the Departmental Committee that "the evils arising from dealing with 'in and out' cases have constantly been considered by the Local Government Board, who have not yet seen their way to suggest a remedy."²

The Departmental Committee also shrunk from making any recommendation on the subject, although they were in favour of "additional powers being vested in the authorities to enable them to retain in their custody the children who were *habitually* to be found" in the class of "ins and outs,"³ and also of extending the powers of control already possessed by Boards of Guardians to "the children of habitual tramps and the 'in and out' classes."⁴

Having, then, drawn attention to the arguments in favour of further legislation to protect these children, we will show how some Boards have dealt with the matter under the existing law so as to prevent, as much as possible, the "permanent" children from being contaminated by the "casuals."

The managers of the Kensington and Chelsea School District have met the difficulty by establishing a branch or intermediate school to which children are sent before being drafted on to the main schools at Banstead. A full account of this school,⁵ which is at Hammersmith, is given in the Report of the Departmental Committee.⁶ It was opened in 1883, and is certified for 135 inmates. According to the last Triennial Report of the Managers, the number of children in the schools during 1895 averaged 104.⁷ When any child becomes chargeable to the parish it is first of all sent to the workhouse for the purpose of being bathed and its clothing changed, and after this has been done it is sent to the branch school. There it is kept until the fortnightly day arrives for the admission of children to the Banstead Schools. If the child belongs to the permanent class and is pronounced "healthy," it is then drafted on to Banstead; but if its parents are known to be "ins and outs" or to have entered the workhouse infirmary merely on account of some temporary inability or misfortune, it is retained at Hammersmith.

No "ins and outs" children, therefore, ever enter the Banstead Schools. In addition, also, to the branch school being a temporary home for children before their admission to the main schools, it also

¹ 23 L. G. B., p. 132.

² Marlesford Lodge.

³ Report, p. 73.

⁴ pp. 74, 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷ Fifth Report, p. 61.

forms a home for a fairly permanent class of infirm children, who, owing to the stringency of the medical certificate at Banstead, would be rejected there. These children may be suffering from ailments taking from three to twelve months to cure, and yet may be quite capable of receiving an educational training. The more acute cases of illness are retained at the parish infirmary, and if a child develops disease in the school it is returned to the infirmary.

The Report of the superintendent of the Hammersmith School (Mr. H. D. Aslett), dated the 11th November, 1895, reminds us that there is no system of probation there. "Every child is at once admitted into the body of the school, and if only a day is spent here, it is spent in school. We are admitting children daily, and, as may be expected, the introduction of infection is very frequent, on an average about once a week." But owing to the great attention bestowed on the children, Mr. Aslett is able to report that "although every risk is run, yet there has been nothing approaching an epidemic, and, as far as my memory serves, the admission of children from the parishes has not been stopped for the past seven years, and possibly longer."

The following figures of admissions to and discharges from the Hammersmith School for the three years ended Michaelmas, 1895, further illustrate the difficulties caused by the existence of the "in and out" class of pauper children. During that period the admissions were 1858. Of this number 644 had been transferred to Banstead, 1105 returned to the parishes, care of parents, etc., and 109 were still in the school. Taking the daily average at 104, Mr. Aslett analyses the children as follows:

Children medically unfit for Banstead	50
Migratory children—the "ins and outs"	30
Children under 4 years of age	15
Children awaiting transfer	9

These figures are interesting as showing how large is the proportion of "ins and outs" (nearly 30 per cent.) to the total number of children who become chargeable to the rates. These children are admitted again and again. In his evidence before the Departmental Committee, Mr. Aslett spoke of children taken out by their father or mother, as the case may be, on an average once a month, while one-third of the children received are re-admissions.¹ The following particulars of the number of children admitted and re-admitted into the branch school during the year ended Lady Day, 1894, are taken from the Report of the Departmental Committee.

¹ Evidence, Qs. 7717, 7718.

	467 children admitted once	.	.	-	467 admissions.
108	77 "	"	twice	.	- 154 "
	20 "	"	3 times	.	- 60 "
	5 "	"	4 times	.	- 20 "
	3 "	"	5 times	.	- 15 "
	1 child	"	6 times	.	- 6 "
	1 "	"	9 times	.	- 9 "
	1 "	"	11 times	.	- 11 "
	575 children who made	.	.	.	742 "
	No. of children admitted more than once	.	.	.	108

As we have already said, persons who attack Boards of Guardians on account of the defective education alleged to be given in Poor Law Schools are apt to forget the numbers of children who enter them at all ages and who have received no education at all. The statistics of the branch school at Hammersmith should lead them to be more charitable. Mr. Aslett tells the school managers that the number of these children—some of them at 12 to 14 years of age ignorant of even the alphabet—does not decrease.

"In explanation of this unsatisfactory state of things, he says that the parents have 'been dodging the attendance officers from district to district,' a matter of no difficulty to them, owing to the slow processes for obtaining a conviction, because the school attendance officer has first to give a warning notice, then to bring the parents before the School Attendance Committee, and not until the Committee shall have decided whether or not the case be one for prosecution can a summons be issued. In the meantime the parents remove."¹

In comparing the results of Board Schools and Poor Law Schools, these facts must be taken into consideration.

It is impossible to deny the success of the experiment made by the school managers of the Kensington and Chelsea Unions. They have shown that a school of fluctuating inmates can be worked, and they deserve all the encomiums poured upon them by the Departmental Committee. "They have proved conclusively that a receiving school can be efficiently worked, and we are satisfied that very creditable educational work has been done, even under discouraging conditions."² While at the Forest Gate, Sutton, and Ashford schools the number of children admitted to them more than once was during the year 1893-94, 45, 59, and 75 respectively, the number of re-admissions to the Banstead Schools was only two.³

¹ Report of the Departmental Committee, p. 74.

² See Report, p. 74.

³ For the complete figures see Report, pp. 73, 74.

The advantages of receiving schools such as the one at Hammer-smith are summed up by the Departmental Committee as follows:

1. No child would remain more than a few hours in the workhouse.
2. Attention would be paid to the dietary and health of the fresh-comers.
3. The education of the children would be continued without a break.
4. Children of vicious tendencies would have less opportunity of contaminating those of the permanent class.
5. The organization and discipline of the main schools would not be disturbed.
6. The costly and ineffective system of school probationary wards might then be abandoned.

But while the plan prevents the disorganization of Poor Law Schools and the evils connected with the mixing of "permanents" and "casuals," it of course fails to mitigate the greater mischiefs.

We are not aware that any other Boards of Guardians have adopted the system of a separate probationary school.¹ As a rule each school has a probationary ward attached to it, where all children who come there from the workhouse are kept for about a fortnight before they are allowed to enter the school. But this plan necessitates detention in the workhouse before the children can enter the probationary ward whereas, as we have seen, under the Kensington and Chelsea plan children are only detained at the workhouse during the short time that is necessary to have them washed and dressed in proper clothing. It is no wonder that the Departmental Committee recommended the extension of the system. The official witnesses spoke in favour of it, Mr. Knollys saying that it seemed to him "the only solution of the difficulty of dealing with children of this class" (*i.e.* "ins and outs").²

But while the system can be easily applied in big Urban Unions, it is clearly not applicable to the large majority of Unions where the numbers of "indoor" children are small, and where the schools combine together for the purpose of establishing "ins and outs." But such schools could certainly not be introduced unless the Guardians were given increased powers and were enabled in some way or other to deal with the danger of relieving "unworthy" parents of the burden of

¹ Mr. Craighill, the Clerk to the Gateshead-on-Tyne Board of Guardians, states that that Board is providing a separate home for "ins and outs" in the new "Cottage Homes" of the Union.

² Evidence, Q. 16,906. See also evidence of Dr. Downes, Qs. 8709-8711.

children without punishing them in any way for throwing the responsibility of the maintenance and education of their children on to the ratepayers must be apparent to every one who gives the least thought to the question. The "liberty of the subject" in such cases merely means the liberty to divest themselves of all those irksome responsibilities which it is the duty and pleasure of the true "free citizen" to bear.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUGGESTED REFORMS

CONCLUSION

HAVING in the preceding chapters described the various systems in use at the present time for dealing with pauper children, and explained the existing powers possessed by Boards of Guardians over children when they have left the workhouse or school for service or employment, we will proceed to draw attention to certain reforms which have been advocated in various quarters in recent years.

The "Reformers" may be divided into two classes, those who wish to remove pauper children entirely from the control and supervision of the Poor Law Authorities to that of the Educational Authorities, and those who consider that, while no good cause has yet been shown for such a drastic measure, certain reforms in details of administration and treatment are urgently needed.

We need not waste much space in dealing with the first class of reformers. Although a brand new Association¹ has been formed to advance their views, it is not likely that they will see them carried out, at any rate in the immediate future. It is doubtful whether the country is prepared for such an upheaval of the English Poor Law System as is involved in their proposals; and it is certain that a much wider inquiry will be required than was made by the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools. It cannot be too frequently pointed out that these reformers have only one real argument in favour of the "root change" advocated by them. It is that children brought up under the care and control of Boards of Guardians are thereby branded with the "pauper taint," which would not be the case if they were maintained and educated by other non-Poor Law Authorities. It is true that they advance other arguments in favour of the change, but they cannot show that it is impossible to carry out the reforms they want—supposing them to be all desirable—under the existing system. For example, it is quite possible to place the educational inspection of all pauper children

¹ The State Children's Aid Association.

under the Education Department, and, as a matter of fact, the vast majority of them are at the present time educated under the inspection of that Department.¹

The "pauper taint" argument being then the only one which might be supposed to have some force, we must examine it somewhat carefully.

In the first place it is well to state that the expression is one which has been invented by the upper classes of society, and is, we believe, absolutely unknown among the poorer classes, who judge men and women from the concrete and not from the abstract point of view, *i.e.*, by their capability for work and by their conduct. It has not yet been proved that the mere fact of children having received their education and training under Poor Law Authorities is against their getting on in the world so well as other children, when they have the same protection during their early years of service as children brought up in the ordinary schools, and we have already shown how much is being done to give them an equally good start in the race of life with other children of their own class.

We know that the demand for children from the Poor Law Schools is greater than the supply. We know that they very seldom come back to the workhouse at any time during their lives. The statistics which we have already given in previous chapters show this most clearly. If the fact were not so, we should expect to find our workhouses full of adult able-bodied paupers, but we know that the very large majority of inmates of workhouses are the aged and infirm. The children have in fact been depauperised, and many of them have mounted high in the social scale. Instances of their success in life are too numerous to set out here. Mr. Layton Lowndes, who was for so many years connected with the South-East Shropshire District School, tells us:

"I heard yesterday" (9th June, 1896) "from one boy who was for many years in the school, who is now head-master of a large Board School in Bristol, and I have heard from another one who is sub-librarian at the Birmingham School of Art, and from another who holds a very important position; he went into domestic service, and is now a scout at All Souls' College, Oxford. Those who know what Oxford life is must know what a very important part in Oxford life—in University life—a college scout occupies, and a man who is able, fairly and honestly, to take such a position as that, is able to take his place even at this Conference."²

¹ Probably not more than 20,000 children out of the 240,000 who receive relief from the rates are being educated at the present time under the inspection of the educational inspectors of the Local Government Board.

² *Poor Law Conference Reports*, 1896, p. 101.

How grateful the children are for all that is done for them will be witnessed to by Guardians, school managers, masters, matrons, and Poor Law officials of every grade. They do not during their school life know anything of the "pauper taint" with which chattering philanthropists (to use the term for which we have to thank the *Spectator*) have labelled them, nor do they find when they go out to earn their own living that they are shunned and despised by others of their own class. When they have succeeded in getting on in the world—and we know that the very large majority of them do so—they feel rather proud of their old school than otherwise, they keep up an affectionate correspondence with their old masters and mistresses, they re-visit the schools on festal days and other occasions, and in many other ways show their gratitude to those who have cared for them so well during their years of helplessness. We will give a striking instance of the affection they feel for their old school.

On the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Strand Union Schools, Edmonton, on the 24th July, 1896, a deputation of six soldiers presented to the Board of Guardians, on behalf of themselves and some of their old schoolfellows, a large photographic group of all of them, together with the following address, which was read by a troop sergeant-major of the Royal Engineers.

"To the Board of Guardians, Strand Schools, Edmonton."

"The following, as boys of the school, now serving in various regiments of Her Majesty's forces at present stationed in the Aldershot command, are desirous of forwarding for your acceptance a photographic group of themselves. They desire, at the same time, to state that they cherish, and will ever continue to do, the memories of the happy days when they were receiving that tuition that has been the true cause of any little success that may have attended them in their chosen career. With deepest gratitude we are, etc."

Here follow the names of one company quartermaster-sergeant, one troop sergeant-major, two sergeants, two second corporals, two lance-corporals, ten trumpeters, four drivers, two sappers, and one bugler. The Chairman, in accepting the picture and address on behalf of the Board, thanked the deputation, and assured them that their spontaneous action would be highly appreciated; adding that it spoke volumes for the good management of their schools when old scholars like those before him, who had made their way in life, and served Her Majesty with credit, as evinced by the medals on their breasts, were not afraid to come forward and say a good word on behalf of their old school.

It is also material to state that of the twenty-five soldiers who signed the above address, no fewer than twenty-one were Royal Engineers, a fact significant of the excellent training and education which those men must have received when boys in the Strand Union Schools.

Those persons, indeed, who are so fond of the expression "pauper taint" are acting most cruelly to the children who cannot defend themselves. That there is such a thing as a "pauper taint" we are free to admit, but it cannot be limited to any one class. It is found quite as frequently in the very highest circles of society as in the lowest.

Let any one of our readers look round the circle of his relations and acquaintances and count up how many of them may be considered "failures" in that they are, either from incapacity or unwillingness to earn their own living, dependent on others for support; or, even if they may be independent, are unprofitable or vicious members of society. He will at once see that social failures are by no means confined to one class; every family has at least one black sheep—and, in judging our poorer neighbours, we should never forget that the failures among them are conspicuous because it falls upon the public to support them, while the burden of the others is usually borne by their relations. But these others are none the less morally paupers, and affected with the "pauper taint." As to the "hereditary pauper taint," it is very rare to discover cases of it nowadays. In his Report for 1884 Mr. Mozley quotes from a paper read by Mr. Alexander Macdougall on the 29th January, 1894, before the General Purposes Committee of the Manchester Board of Guardians, and entitled, "An inquiry into the causes of pauperism in the township of Manchester," and comments on it as follows:¹

"The conclusion of this interesting paper bears on the results of the education of pauper children, and it may be of advantage to quote it. The question, whether the adult inmates of workhouses or the adult recipients of outdoor relief were to any large extent paupers from birth, and brought up either in the workhouse or Poor Law School, is clearly all important for the decision of the question whether the workhouse children of ten, twenty, or thirty years ago have remained in pauperism or not (pp. 10-12):—

"I had always present in my mind the desire to form a reliable estimate of the proportion of hereditary paupers in the township, to those who become chargeable from misfortune or misconduct. I had for a long time supposed that there were on the books a large number who had been pauperised from birth, and who were almost continuously in receipt of relief—paupers born with what is called the "pauper taint," and who, unless strong measures were taken to force them into habits of industry, would not make any continued efforts to support

¹ 14 *L. G. B.*, pp. 48, 49.

themselves. To my great surprise I found that such cases are very few ; in the whole of the 254 cases reported upon, only one of this description appears—that of a woman born at the Knutsford Workhouse, and who has from time to time had relief in various Unions since. This led me to imagine that the cases taken in the order as they stood in the books had failed to contain the fair average of persons of this description. To get at the actual facts I have made further inquiry, and asked the relieving officers to examine their books and point out any cases of persons who, in their opinion, had begun life as paupers. They have taken considerable pains to do so, with the result that of the entire number of out-relief cases there are not more than nine of this description. Mr. Roberts has again assisted me by going with me to the workhouse and hospital for the special purpose of searching for these cases, and the conclusion that we have arrived at is that not more than fifteen of the whole of the inmates can be recognized as born paupers. Of course there are numbers of children in outdoor cases, and in the workhouse, and in the Swinton Schools, who were born at the time that their parents were in receipt of relief ; but of persons over sixteen years of age born paupers, applying on their own account for relief, the highest estimate cannot reach one per cent. of the total number of paupers. I have done my utmost to ascertain the true state of things in this matter, and have asked that for some months to come my attention may be called to any future application from persons whom the relieving officer may suspect to be of this description, and I will endeavour to obtain the history of each one.

“In one respect this fact is very satisfactory. It proves that in the township we are not fostering paupers, that the methods of administration are such that pauperism is not perpetuated in families more than to a very slight extent. Also that the training of children in the Swinton Schools is successful in preparing them to be self-supporting, for though cases do occur where boys and girls return to the workhouse after situations are found for them (and from the fact that—when it happens we hear of it in the board-room—the numbers, from the prominence given to them, may appear to be numerous), they are, in fact, very few, and bear a very small proportion to those children who become self-supporting, and whose cases, in consequence, do not attract attention.”

“It will be agreed,” continues Mr. Mozley, “that the result ascertained by Mr. Macdougall is very satisfactory, and it will be observed that it is drawn not merely from the 254 cases originally selected for inquiry, and which were, as it appears, taken at random, but from the whole number of paupers in the township of Manchester, amounting to thousands, that is, to all who were over sixteen years of age. There is, I may remark, a possible misapprehension of Mr. Macdougall’s meaning, which, if it were entertained, would reduce the significance of his conclusion very much, and which it may, therefore, be expedient to guard against. If, when he speaks of ‘born paupers,’ he merely meant persons actually born in the workhouse, or born while their parents were in receipt of relief, it might appear that a great many were omitted who had become paupers at a very early age, though not

actually born under the conditions indicated. But Mr. Macdougall informs me that by the phrase 'a born pauper' he means any person who was supported out of the rates during some part of the period of infancy, that is, up to three years of age. I think this a very fair definition of the term 'hereditary pauper,' and when it is found that such persons form but one per cent. of the total number of paupers, it must be conceded that hereditary pauperism is for practical purposes almost non-existent. It may be remembered that Mrs. Nassau Senior in the year 1873 found that out of 1490 pauper women who, during four months, entered forty-seven Metropolitan workhouses, ninety-eight had been for upwards of five years educated in workhouse schools. (See Third Annual Report of the Local Government Board, p. 349.) Though this calculation does not enter into direct comparison with that of Mr. Macdougall, it is not by any means so satisfactory a return. But Mrs. Senior also found that out of the above-mentioned 1490 pauper women those who had been educated in workhouse schools for a less period than five years did not amount to more than eighty-four, and, considering the number of children who pass through Poor Law Schools, this number is small.¹

"Mr. Culley, formerly one of the General Inspectors of your Board, has been kind enough to supply me with a return, which, though it does not enter into exact comparison either with the calculation of Mr. Macdougall or with that of Mrs. Nassau Senior, resembles much more nearly the conclusions of the former. A speaker at the Social Science Congress which was held at Nottingham in 1882, said that he believed that seven-tenths of the tramps of the country were brought up in their early days in workhouses. How singularly reckless this statement was is apparent from the fact, ascertained by Mr. Culley, that out of 871 vagrants who, during the week ended 21st October, 1882, were relieved in ten Unions of the North-Eastern District, only eleven had been for any period in a workhouse school; that is only 1.26 per cent. instead of 70 per cent., as affirmed by the speaker at the Nottingham Congress. The vagrants were questioned by the masters of the several workhouses, the ten Unions being Hexham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Tynemouth, Auckland, Darlington, Durham, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Stockton, Sunderland. The 1.26 per cent. of this calculation is in singularly near agreement with the 'not 1 per cent.' of Mr. Macdougall; and the fact elicited is very satisfactory."

The truth is that no proof is forthcoming that Poor Law children do not get on well in after-life, and that their success is hampered by their having been educated and brought up under the Poor Law. If they can do their work well, and are painstaking and honest, the employer does not care to inquire how they have been brought up; and this book will have been written in vain if we have not been able to show that those children, who have been long enough under the

¹ We have progressed since 1873, as the later figures of Mr. Lockwood, presented to the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools, and Lord Warkworth's Return, show. (See *ante*, p. 128).

control of the Guardians to obtain the full benefit of the education and training given to them, do turn out respectable and self-supporting men and women.

No good cause has yet been shown for removing the children to the care and control of new authorities, and thus upsetting the work of our Poor Law System by placing one section of paupers under one set of authorities, and the other section under another set. As we have said, the placing of the educational inspection of the children in Poor Law Schools under the Education Department raises a very different question, and one to which there is not the least objection in principle, if it is possible in practice. But we altogether deny that the education of the children in Poor Law Schools has suffered in the least from its being under the inspection of the very able Inspectors of the Local Government Board.

Such a "root change" as the one we have been considering has never, so far, been recommended by any Royal Commission, nor by any Parliamentary or Departmental Committee. The Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools never went so far as this, and even their recommendation has not been accepted by expert authorities. Besides, this Committee had to deal with the question from the point of view of London alone. We cannot, however, agree with their conclusion that "no mere reform of the management and local arrangements of the existing schools would be adequate or practicable, if their administration be left in the hands of the present authorities,"¹ nor with their advocacy of the establishment of a new Central Metropolitan Authority, to which all Metropolitan pauper children over three years of age should be handed over, and which should have the absolute care of them so long as they remained chargeable to the rates. They recommended that this Central Authority should be entrusted with the following duties:—

1. Controlling and supervising all the London institutions for Poor Law children, charging the expenses to a common fund.
2. Receiving and classifying all children, and dealing with them in isolation or probation wards until they are in a fit state to associate with other children.
3. Organizing separate institutions for the "ins and outs."
4. Providing for the better classification of children suffering from diseases such as ophthalmia and ringworm, when isolation from healthy children is imperative, but where, nevertheless, it is quite possible for many of the children to be under continuous instruction.
5. Providing and managing one or more seaside homes for such

¹ Report, p. 139.

ailing or other children as may be medically certified to require residence thereat.

6. Providing special institutions, if found desirable, for children of defective intellect, and crippled, afflicted or depraved children.

7. Settling and carrying out the arrangements for boarding out such children as the competent authority determines shall be boarded out, and for the inspection of such children when boarded out.

8. Providing and managing training institutions where children who have been boarded out or otherwise provided for, may be fitted for service or various industrial pursuits.

9. Making suitable provision for the emigration of children, and for securing adequate reports upon their subsequent career.

10. Appointing an adequate staff of inspectors, who should report to the Central Metropolitan Authority upon the whole of the institutions maintained or aided by them.¹

This Central Authority was also to be given the power of appointing the superior officers of the schools, and these officers were only to be appointed for *five* years.² Upon the first point the Committee condescended to give us no reason for the change, while as to the second point Mr. Brooke Lambert and Mr. Vallance were at variance with their colleagues. "It is not, we think, equitable that persons devoting some of the best years of their lives to the work of Poor Law Institutions should be thus thrown upon the world. Especially is this true in the case of superintendents, masters, and (under present conditions) teachers, in the Metropolitan area. At the same time we admit the importance of Guardians or managers being enabled to determine the appointment of an incompetent or negligent officer, *with the consent of the Local Government Board*, this consent to be given, not as at present on the result of an official inquiry, but upon the Board being satisfied in regard to the *bonâ fide* adjudication of the Guardians or managers upon matters affecting the character, conduct, or efficiency of the officer."³

We venture to say that the change suggested in the passage quoted would give satisfaction to the managers of Poor Law Schools, while really good and efficient officers would be quite as much protected as they are at present against unjust dismissals.

The Departmental Committee threw no light upon the question how the new Central Authority, supposing it were desirable, was to be constituted. They did not recommend the Metropolitan Asylums Board. They thought that if the new and important functions which we have enumerated were to be entrusted to a separate body, there

¹ Report, pp. 144, 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

might be some advantage in constituting a new Board which would make its own traditions. They were not prepared to recommend direct election, but thought that the Guardians who had hitherto managed the schools should be represented on the new authority to be constituted.¹

The Report of the Committee contains a separate chapter on "Finance,"² and yet, while they criticised the cost of the existing system, they had not a word to say as to what the carrying out of their recommendation would cost. Nor did they say whether the necessary money was to be raised from imperial or local sources. The expression "children of the State," of which the Committee are so enamoured, seems to point to the money being raised from imperial sources. If so, country ratepayers will have something to say to the proposal. But of course the London ratepayers would have to pay for the vagaries of this new Central Authority, which it was proposed should have its own staff of inspectors and officers, and therefore its own offices. There is an ominous ring in the suggestion of the Committee that a great deal of the Government supervision and authoritative right of veto which had hitherto prevailed might be dispensed with.³ The Central Authority was to be left a completely free hand, and was to "have full power to appoint and dismiss all its staff and settle their salaries."

Those of our readers who have read our previous chapters will be led, we think, to deny the premises from which the Committee drew their conclusion. But it is not necessary either to admit or deny those premises. It is sufficient to say that there is no reasonable prospect of the suggestions of the Committee being accepted. We need not therefore examine the obvious arguments against their adoption; nor, for the same reason, need we do more than mention the proposal of Sir John Gorst and Mrs. Barnett that the new Central Authority should be an educational authority, and that it should be under the sole supervision of the Education Department. But the proposal of the Rev. Brooke Lambert and Mr. Vallance did merit, and received, careful consideration. They were the only two "expert" members of the Committee who had a practical knowledge of Poor Law administration. The one was, and still is, an active Guardian of the Poor, and the other, the very experienced and able clerk of one of the best administered of London Unions, viz., Whitechapel. Mrs. Barnett has never, we believe, been a Guardian of the Poor, and her extreme *bias* against aggregated schools makes anything which she says about them less valuable than if she were more impartial. The two members of the Committee

¹ Report, p. 145.

² Chapter xxiii.

³ Report, p. 145.

mentioned also favoured the establishment of a new central *body*. They did not say *authority*, and they did not use capital letters. But this central body was to be representative of the Guardians, and was only to be charged with (1) the provision and management of one or more institutions, (a) for the care and education of children suffering from eye, skin, and scalp diseases, (b) for the technical training of boys (the needs of girls being probably already met), (c) for children requiring seaside air and other convalescent aid, and (d) for children who, by reason of defective intellect and physical infirmity, cannot properly be trained in association with other children in ordinary schools, and without special training would be unable to take their places in the world, and (2) the making of arrangements for, and supervision of, "boarded-out" children, including their inspection in the country homes.¹

Their proposal, therefore, was one of very limited reform, and left the children either under the control of the Guardians, or under that of a body representative of them. It was, in fact, a proposal involving compulsory combination of London Boards of Guardians for the special purpose of dealing with particular classes of children. Except as to giving to such a central body powers over "boarded-out" children there is nothing specially objectionable in this proposal. The Government, who in face of the Report of the Departmental Committee felt themselves under an obligation to do something, adopted the idea. The Order which was the subject of so much discussion during the early months of 1897 was the result. This Order² proposed that a new central body constituted similarly to the Metropolitan Asylums Board should be established for (1) children suffering from ophthalmic or other contagious disease of the eye, (2) children suffering from contagious disease of the skin or scalp, (3) children requiring either special treatment during convalescence, or the benefit of seaside air, (4) children who, by reason of defect of intellect or physical infirmity, cannot properly be trained in association with children in ordinary schools, and (5) children who are ordered by two justices or a magistrate to be taken under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to a workhouse or an asylum of the district. It will be observed that the Order did not authorise the new body to deal with the technical training of boys, nor with "boarded-out" children, although it gave the new body power over "remand" children. Indeed, the objections to handing over the responsibility for "boarded-out" children from individual Boards of Guardians to a central body are very manifest.

¹ Report, pp. 174, 175.

² *Times*, 23rd January, 1897.

In the first place, it is doubtful whether such a body would possess the influence and authority necessary for controlling Boarding-out Committees. These committees consist chiefly of ladies and gentlemen, some of them of high social rank, and their constitution and the supervision of their work require delicate handling. It is probable that many of them would refuse to submit to the dictates of any but a Government Department.

Further, at present both Metropolitan and provincial Boards of Guardians send children to Boarding-out Committees, who are all authorised by the Local Government Board. If another body were empowered to organize Boarding-out Committees, there would be two sets of Boarding-out Committees throughout the country. If these two sets of committees were kept separate, and authorised to receive children from only one source, Metropolitan or provincial, it would often deprive Guardians not only from sending children to suitable places, but would limit the committees in the selection of children for suitable homes. At present a large number of committees receive children from both Metropolitan and provincial Unions, and for some time it would be impossible to alter existing arrangements. If, on the other hand, the same committees were authorised by the Local Government Board to receive children from the provincial Unions, and by the Metropolitan body to receive London children, the committees would be under the control of two bodies. This would result in friction, and additional trouble and worry to the committee, and it is not likely that many committees would put up with it.

The same committee would also be visited by two sets of inspectors, one appointed by the Local Government Board, and the other by the Metropolitan body. This would be a waste of labour and expense, both of salaries and of travelling, and would involve overlapping. The Metropolitan body would also not be likely to secure the services of such inspectors as are at the command of a Government Department.

But when the "boarded-out" children are left out of account, the remaining children requiring special treatment are comparatively few in number, and so it was generally felt that the setting up a new central body to deal with them was like using a steam-hammer to crush a nut. Besides which, some London Boards of Guardians have shown themselves quite capable of dealing satisfactorily with all classes of children. It is only the poorer Boards of Guardians which have laboured under difficulties in the matter. A central body was already in existence, viz., the Metropolitan Asylums Board. No good reason has ever been advanced against its taking charge of such of the

children as individual Boards of Guardians could not satisfactorily deal with. Consequently there arose so strong an opposition to the Order that it had to be withdrawn, and a new Order was issued on the 2nd April, 1897, by which the Metropolitan Asylums District Board had to make provision for the following classes of children who are chargeable to Unions in parishes within the Metropolitan Asylum District, viz. : (1) for children suffering from an ophthalmic or other contagious disease of the eye, (2) for children suffering from contagious disease of the skin or scalp, (3) for children requiring either special treatment during convalescence or the benefit of seaside air, (4) for children who, by reason of defect of intellect or physical infirmity, cannot properly be trained in association with children in ordinary schools, and (5) for children who are advised by two justices or a magistrate to be taken under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to a workhouse or an asylum of the district.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board, immediately on receipt of this Order, appointed a special Committee to inquire what steps should be taken for giving effect to it, and this Committee made its report on the 18th May, 1897. The Report showed that the managers would have to make immediate provision for (1) 800 cases of ophthalmia and other contagious diseases of the eye, (2) 400 cases of ringworm of the scalp, and (3) 150 remand children. The Committee had so far not been able to arrive at the number of convalescent, weak-minded, and physically infirm children who would have to be provided for. As to the ophthalmic cases, they recommended the Board to provide for 800 cases in three institutions with administrative buildings, and arranged so that each institution could be enlarged for a maximum of 400 patients if necessary; they suggested that the Hanwell Ophthalmic Hospital, which can accommodate 300 patients, should be one of the institutions. For convalescent children they suggested that the establishment of the South Metropolitan School District at Herne Bay, and that of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians at Margate, which together can accommodate 226 cases, should be taken over by the Board, and that if further provision was required it should be supplied by means of small houses for about twenty-five children each. For those intellectually and physically infirm children who could not properly be trained in association with children in ordinary schools, they suggested that single houses should be rented in the vicinity of some of the special schools of the London School Board, where groups of children (say eight in each) could be properly trained and cared for by foster-mothers, and where at the same time they could enjoy the advantages of the special educational training which

had been provided for cases of this class by the London School Board. As to *remand* children, they proposed that provision should be made for 150 of this class by renting, purchasing, or erecting three conveniently situated houses—two on the north, and one on the south side of the Thames.

For the management of these various institutions a "Children's Committee" was to be established, to consist (at first) of twelve members, but which might be enlarged if necessary. The only addition to be made to the staff of the Board was to be two more clerks.

This scheme, which has been accepted by the Asylums Board, will be admitted by reasonable persons to be adequate to the circumstances of the case. Those Boards of Guardians who have already provided for their ophthalmic cases at their own Poor Law Schools will probably not take advantage of the Order, but that the Order will be welcomed by many Boards cannot be doubted.

Those Unions or parishes which take advantage of the Order will, of course, each have to pay for the clothing and maintenance of its own children out of the local rates, but the general expense of management of the different institutions will be borne by each individual parish according to its rateable value as provided by the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867.

It is improbable that any further change of authority will for some time to come be made. Indeed, there is not a single real reform in the Poor Law, apart from revolutionary or "root" changes, which cannot be carried out under the existing authorities.

Another effect of the Report of the Departmental Committee has been the issue of an Order prescribing Regulations with respect to the school attendance of children in workhouses and Poor Law Schools, and the time during which they may be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work. This Order, which is dated the 30th January, 1897, is set out in full in the Appendix.¹ The rules are sufficiently stringent, and in some of the best managed schools they have been found to interfere in some particulars with their proper management. It is satisfactory, therefore, to learn that the Local Government Board are willing to relax them whenever they are satisfied that such will be the effect. There is one of the rules which certainly seems to us exceedingly unwise. Article IX. of the Order, which directs how the time-tables are to be prepared, also provides that they shall be hung up in *some conspicuous place* where they will be open to the inspection of the children to whom they relate. Could any

¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix E., p. 405.

regulation be imagined more subversive of discipline? We hope that this paragraph will not be long allowed to disfigure what is generally admitted to be a useful Order. Surely the Local Government Board might trust the School Managers' Committees and Officers to conform to the spirit of the Order.

We will now proceed to refer to reforms as to which, it may almost be said, the mind of Poor Law Guardians is made up. These reforms cannot be effected without the aid of Parliament. They relate to the acquisition by Boards of Guardians of further powers of control over the children. As to the "ins and outs," we have already gone fully into the question of their detention.¹ As to the other children, increased powers of control are wanted when they have gone into service or employment.

We have already described how much good work can be effected by voluntary agencies in looking after the children during their early years of service and employment. But this good work has been much hampered by the little control which the law gives them over the children. For instance, Boards of Guardians cannot under the Act of 1876² delegate any powers to voluntary agencies which they do not legally possess themselves. It will be remembered that under the Act of 1851 directly a child leaves its first situation the power of the Guardians over it ceases. They have no further control over the child, and are no longer bound to see that it is visited. Then if a situation turns out to be unsatisfactory there is no power to remove the child from it. The child is practically its own master, and it is easy to imagine, even in cases where the child really wished to leave its situation, the power which an unprincipled master or mistress could exercise over it in order to retain it. The hands of Boards of Guardians undoubtedly require strengthening in such cases. We understand that a Bill will be introduced into Parliament giving Guardians power to adopt children who have been maintained for any length of time out of the rates. Under the Poor Law Act, 1889,³ Guardians have power to retain the control of children deserted by their parents up to the age of sixteen in the case of boys, and to that of eighteen in the case of girls.

Such an extension of the law as is proposed by this Bill has long been desired by Boards of Guardians; and, while certainly going a long way to remedy the evil to which we have referred, it would of course carry with it the duty of visiting so long as the child remained under the control of the Guardians, whether it had changed its situation or not in the meantime.

¹ Chapter xii.

² *Ante*, p. 295.

³ 52 & 53 Vict. ch. 56, s. 1.

As to orphan children, the case for the extension of the Act is very well put in a letter dated the 19th December, 1893, from certain lady Guardians to the President of the Local Government Board:

"SIR,—Many women Guardians and others, much interested in the welfare of orphan pauper children, desire that the age of control of Guardians should be the same as that of deserted pauper children placed under the Poor Law Act, 1889. Could the Act be amended so as to include orphans? Undesirable relations, such as grandparents, uncles and aunts, etc., frequently interfere with these children when first placed out either in service or in a trade. They would abstain from thus interfering if they found that orphan children were still under the control of Boards of Guardians. There are also cases in which children, supposed to be orphans, have turned out to be merely deserted, but too late to place them under the Act as it stands at present. We wish them to be made equally safe, whether deserted or orphans. The strict legal guardianship over orphan children terminates when they cease to be chargeable, therefore it is felt that it would be a great advantage in the case of orphan girls to have control extended to the age of eighteen, a wilful and thoughtless girl of sixteen without parents being too young to be her own mistress. We believe that all associations for the care of young servants will endorse this view. We, therefore, venture to hope that you will kindly consider our request by proposing this alteration to Parliament, and getting their assent to the same. We beg to remain, yours faithfully,

"MARY CLIFFORD, *Guardian, Barton Regis Union.*

LOUISA TWINING, *Guardian, Tonbridge.*

ELIZABETH L. LIDGETT, *Guardian, St. Pancras Parish.*

ELLEN MCKEE, *Guardian, St. Marylebone Parish.*

GEORGINA BRAMSTON, *Guardian, St. George's*

(Hanover Square) Union."

But there seems no good reason against the Act being extended to other children who have been maintained for a length of time at the cost of the rates, and whose future may appear to the Guardians to be imperilled.¹

These children do require protection in starting in life. The evidence given before the Departmental Committee was unanimous on this point. Miss Poole gave a very striking instance of the necessity for Guardians acquiring extended powers of adoption for

¹ The Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools classify these children as follows: (a) Neglected children who have been maintained at the cost of the rates. (b) The children of paupers of the permanent class whose character or mental deficiency may render them unfit to have the control of their offspring. (c) The children of habitual tramps, and the "in and out" classes. (d) The children of parents who, living outside the workhouse, have had their children separately maintained and educated at the cost of the rates; and (e) orphan children chargeable to the rates.

all classes of children who had been brought up by them, and she told the Committee that she knew of several cases in point. In one case¹ the girl was placed in what turned out to be a most undesirable situation. She never had any wages, and she was never allowed to see a visitor, though the mistress took her with the understanding that she should have a visitor. She had never been allowed to go back to the school or to go to any treat, though constantly invited. Every effort had been made by the M. A. B. Y. S. and the Guardians to remove her, but she was under terror from her master and mistress. She always said when seen only before them—and she could not be seen alone—that she did not wish to leave. So she stayed on. Miss Poole added: "It seems to me a failing that when a girl is placed no one has a definite right to give notice for her. I think in some way or another it should be made possible for the Guardians to have the right to give notice until the girl is sixteen." This particular girl was seventeen or eighteen, but she was only fourteen when the Guardians wished to remove her.

As to the age at which the control should cease there is some difference of opinion, but the balance seems in favour of eighteen both for boys and girls. Boys are of course more able to protect themselves than girls, but, as Miss Clifford said in her evidence before the Departmental Committee, such an extension of age "could not do the boys any harm, and it would do the girls a great deal of good." The recommendation of the Departmental Committee on Poor Law Schools that the age at which control should cease should be raised to twenty-one in both sexes, seems to us to go a little *too far*, and merely rests on a letter written to the Local Government Board by a lady. This letter is quoted in Miss Mason's evidence,² but Miss Mason herself carefully refrained from expressing any opinion as to what the limit of age should be.³ At the age of eighteen young people of both sexes (unless in the special cases of those mentally affected in any way) may safely be expected to be in a position to protect themselves.

Upon other reforms there is not such a unanimity of opinion. To us it still seems that the combination of Unions, especially in country districts, for providing for the education and training of their *indoor* pauper children is the right principle. No barrack school is necessary. The school can be arranged on the "cottage homes" plan, and the children can attend the ordinary public elementary schools, the District contributing to the expenses of those schools at so much per child. There will always be a certain number of children who, even if boarding-out were very much extended, cannot be boarded out; and

¹ Evidence, Q. 4106.

² Q. 14,458.

³ Q. 14,463.

the reasons which led the Poor Law Board to advocate the formation of School Districts, and which we have referred to in our introductory chapter, are still as valid and strong as ever. The Guardians of small country Unions find great difficulty in dealing with the few children who remain in the workhouses. An additional advantage of the suggested combination would be that the inclination of Boards of Guardians to give outdoor relief, almost as a matter of course, to widows with children would not be so strong as it is at present. The arguments against this common practice have been stated fully in our book on *The Better Administration of the Poor Law*, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. We are convinced that hereditary pauperism, if it can be shown to exist, is much more likely to be found in those Unions where outdoor relief is freely given than in others where it is restricted. In properly arranged schools, separated from the workhouses, it is possible to train and educate the children in such a way that they are pretty certain never to be obliged to enter the workhouse at any time during the remainder of their life. On the other hand, the grant of outdoor relief to parents on account of their families brings with it the regular visits of the relieving officer, to which the children get accustomed, and when they grow up and have families, they have in turn no shame in becoming applicants for relief. It was given to their parents, why should not they have it? It is outdoor relief which fosters pauperism, *i.e.*, dependence upon the public for support, and not the life in a Poor Law School.

But if it is impossible to get the small Unions to combine, another very good plan would be for Guardians to utilise their powers to send their workhouse children to the schools of other Unions. We have already quoted what Mr. Byam Davies has to say on the subject.¹ Although, however, such a plan would work economically, it is difficult to overcome the objection which Guardians have to sending the children under their care to another workhouse, for they thereby lose all control over their management and education.

For the purpose of improving the technical instruction and industrial training of the children in Metropolitan Poor Law Schools, it has been suggested that a highly qualified technical instructor (to be duly sanctioned by the Local Government Board) should be appointed as *itinerant* teacher for all the schools. Mr. Wyndham Holgate² described in 1893 a scheme which had been formulated at a Conference of School Managers and Guardians with this object.

It was to be the duty of the instructor "to superintend and be

¹ *Ante*, p. 174; see also 20 *P. L. B.*, p. 143; and 2 *L. G. B.*, p. 95.

² 23 *L. G. B.*, p. 153.

responsible for the whole work, to visit each school at stated intervals, and to give theoretical and practical lectures on subjects to be selected, directing and supervising the present staff of industrial trainers who will carry on the work in his absence. The lectures will be simple and yet eminently educational, they will teach the principles which underlie a trade rather than the trade itself; in carpentry, for instance, the boy will learn to use his drawing powers, to know the use and names of tools, to distinguish between woods, whence they come, and for what purpose each is most suitable; in a word, he is taught to use both eye and brain. In cookery, again, besides learning the principles which form the method of working, the necessity for cleanliness, stove and kitchen management, and marketing are all dealt with. For to teach a girl how to buy food is as important as to teach her how to cook it. Similarly with needlework, girls are taught to use the eye for measurements, to test materials, to know the effect of sizing, and of close or open woven goods. By such methods, the eye, the hand, and the brain are stimulated, with the result that the boy or girl returns to ordinary school-work refreshed, and not, as is now constantly the case, with both physical and mental power wearied. That the suggestions now being considered are not mere fancies has been sufficiently proved by the happy working of a cookery class for the girls at the Central London Schools; it has proved most satisfactory during the few months it has been on foot, and the girls show an interest in their lessons hitherto unknown."

We have seen how the technical training recommended by Mr. Holgate is already carried on in individual schools.

Besides advocating this plan for the better technical instruction of the older children, Mr. Holgate is also in favour of the employment of a peripatetic teacher for kindergarten purposes.¹

We have already referred to the "dietary" question. It certainly seems to us that the managers of the large schools might have been given more discretion in the matter. As a general rule the children are given the legal amount of food at meals, whether they can eat it or not.² It has been suggested that the same amount might be given in two helpings, and this certainly seems reasonable. The children are accustomed to have such a quantity of food on their plate at one time that they are encouraged to leave it.

¹ Evidence before the Departmental Committee, Q. 15,260.

² Dr. Bridges, however, told the Departmental Committee that it was now the usual practice to apportion the total amount which had to be given to the whole batch of children, between the children according to the needs of each one. (Evidence, Qs. 773-777.)

Dr. Downes told the Departmental Committee that at Banstead and Hanwell Schools the children were not tied down to any rigid scale. "The house mothers draw what provisions are necessary to feed the children, so that the children get *about* as much as they want." When there was any undue amount of waste he attributed it to a want of care in serving the food according to the children's appetite. But he said that, where the food was distributed according to the children's needs, it was very curious to see how closely the results came out with what was allowed in the ordinary dietary tables.¹

At none of the schools now, so far as we know, do the children wear a uniform dress. The only distinction between them and other children is that they go out to school more tidy and clean than the 'free' children. There is, indeed, no single reform in detail which cannot easily be effected without an entire change in the whole system.

REMAND CHILDREN.

Mr. Holgate drew attention as early as 1880 to a matter which he considered was "of grave importance in connection with Poor Law education." He said:²

"I allude to the power which magistrates have of sending children from the streets to the workhouse for temporary detention; and although it is true that the Guardians may, under the second clause of Article 99 of the General Consolidated Order,³ class such children by themselves, it is often the case that the workhouse does not admit of such separate classification, and that consequently they are associated with the other children in school, in play-yard, and in dormitories, at the imminent risk of contaminating the virtuous and well-conducted members of the school. I notice, therefore, with much satisfaction that at a deputation as to the treatment of juvenile delinquents which was recently received by the Home Secretary, his attention was specially drawn to this point, and the necessity of separating pauperism and crime was fully admitted by him. I understand that a Committee is now sitting to consider the general position of truant, industrial and reformatory schools, and I venture to hope that the opportunity will not be lost of dealing effectually with the evil which I have mentioned."

The evil still exists, although in London the Metropolitan Asylums Board now has power to deal with these children. But the complaints of Guardians in the matter are not limited to London, and it is much to be desired that some arrangement should be made for providing for these children elsewhere than in the workhouse.

¹ Evidence, Qs. 9021-9027. See also *ante*, p. 111.

² 10 L. G. B., p. 191.

³ Order of 24th July, 1847.

STATISTICS.

We have in previous chapters given statistics to show how comparatively few are the failures among children who have received their education in Poor Law Institutions. Needless to say these statistics are attacked. In all the returns made by Boards of Guardians relating to the successes and failures of the children a certain number are generally referred to as "lost sight of or not traced." The critics of the Guardians cannot dispute the number of the children who are set down in the Returns as known to be doing either well or to have turned out badly, but they are apt to put down all who are returned as "lost sight of, or not traced" in the latter category. Mr. Tufnell described this class as consisting of those who were probably the very best of the children turned out from the schools.¹ Mr. Holgate is more guarded in his remarks on the subject, although he did not think that the existence of the class ought to be counted to the discredit of the schools, for, as he says, "in very many instances it is found that these young people are self-reliant, and doing honourably and well, and that, with not unnatural self-respect, they are not anxious to be further associated with the surroundings of their early life."² On the other hand, Mr. Mozley has expressed his opinion that "the best children generally retain an affection for the place of their education, and, indeed, they frequently correspond with the teachers, or with the master or matron, after they have gone out to service. At the same time it is very unjust to assume that all who have disappeared have turned out badly."³

When the inspectors cannot agree, who shall decide? We are satisfied that if any large proportion of those young persons who are classed as "lost sight of, or not traced" were not doing well, our work-houses would at the present time contain a much larger number of able-bodied inmates than are now to be found there. Mr. Tufnell criticised Mrs. Nassau Senior's method of excluding this class from her percentages. But we must frankly express our opinion that the lady was right in this particular case. Indeed, the class should be excluded from any statistics of successes and failures. It is something to think that while in 1873 28 per cent. of the whole number of girls from the London Poor Law Schools about whom inquiry was made by Mrs. Nassau Senior had been lost sight of or could not be traced, in 1896 only 4 per cent. of the whole number of such girls known to the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants could be thus described.⁴

¹ Parliamentary Return of February 8th, 1875, p. 7.

² 24 L. G. B., p. 73.

³ 5 L. G. B., p. 151.

⁴ See the statistics, *post*, p. 348.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Those who are so fond of finding fault with Guardians, school managers and Poor Law officials generally in their management of the children entrusted to them must forget, we think, the special difficulties under which they labour. The reduction in *able-bodied* pauperism seems to us to bear striking testimony to the success which has attended their efforts to put the children in the way of becoming hard-working and self-supporting men and women. What Mr. Bowyer said in 1879 is as true now as it was then. "I do not believe that there are any men more deeply interested in the welfare of the children under their care than the mass of the Poor Law Guardians and managers of district schools. The same acknowledgment is due to the teachers, with regard to whom I can unhesitatingly repeat what I have frequently said in former reports, that they constitute a highly respectable body of men and women, labouring steadily and conscientiously in their vocation, and actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the children committed to their care."¹

Voluntary associations such as we have described in a former chapter² have rendered most valuable assistance. For instance, the splendid work which has been and is being done by the M. A. B. Y. S. in London on behalf of Poor Law girls is acknowledged on all hands. The following statistics illustrate in a marked manner what the effect of the establishment of this Association has been. In 1873 Mrs. Nassau Senior classified no less than 53 of the 100 girls whom she traced as "unsatisfactory and bad."

From the following table it will be seen that in 1890 only 265 out of 2647 could be so classified, *i.e.*, 10 per cent., while in 1896 the percentage had been reduced to 8·4 per cent.

Classification. ³	1890	1896
Good and Fair	1864	2604
Unsatisfactory	212	267
Bad	53	51
In Training Homes	87	258 ⁴
Emigrated	11	5
Married	16	16
Dead	11	10
Unfit for Service	49	51
Visits refused	22	66
Lost or never traced	121	144
With relations	139	170
Not yet reported	62	46
Totals	2647	3683

¹ 9 *L. G. B.*, p. 200.² Chapter xi.³ "Good," *i.e.*, these also throughout the year have been spoken of as satisfactory in conduct and work. "Fair," *i.e.*, those against whom no serious fault has been

If, then, we deduct from the total number of girls those who are classified as "lost or never traced," although, as we have seen, a large proportion would probably be found to be doing well, could they be discovered, we find that, whereas in 1890 71 per cent. were classified as "good and fair," 8 per cent. as "unsatisfactory," and 2 per cent. as "bad," in 1896 the corresponding figures are 72 per cent., 7 per cent., and 1·4 per cent.

But this is not all. An interesting Return was first published in 1883,¹ and has been since published annually, showing the number of children placed out from the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools during the year, and the number for whom employment could not be found, and who had been returned to the workhouses.

We have tabulated the figures for purposes of comparison, and it will be seen that the decrease in the numbers returned is very marked. It must also be mentioned that the main cause of the children being returned is owing to physical or mental defects.

Year.	Number of children placed out.	Number of children returned to workhouse.	Year.	Number of children placed out.	Number of children returned to workhouse.
1883	1206	30	1890	1335	14
1884	1211	33	1891	1204	12
1885	1134	20	1892	1162	16
1886	1168	24	1893	1093	16
1887	1090	28	1894	1203	15
1888	1122	22	1895	1237	18
1889	1336	16			

Mrs. Nassau Senior had, in 1873, to admit the great improvement that had taken place in the management of the children in the district and separate schools of London. That improvement has continued, and is testified to by everyone who, from personal knowledge, is able to compare the state of things at the present day with what it was twenty-five years ago. But this improvement has not been limited to London merely; it extends over the whole country. New experiments are constantly being tried. Some of them will fail and some will succeed, but it is only by experiment that true progress can be made.

alleged. "Unsatisfactory," *i.e.*, those accused of serious faults—dishonesty, untruth, extreme violence of temper, etc. "Bad," *i.e.*, those known to have lost character, or who have been in prison for theft, etc. In 1896, out of the 2604 classed as "good" and "fair," 1656 fell into the former category, and 948 into the latter. (See Report of M. A. B. V. S. for 1896, p. 10.)

¹ (Of these, 182 were girls who had never been in service and were sent to Homes for training only, and might be classed as "satisfactory," while 76 were sent as failures in service, and would have been classed as "unsatisfactory.")

¹ 13 *L. G. B.*, pp. 260-265.

The attempt to bind Boards of Guardians down to one cut and dried system must, if it succeeds, retard that progress. It is a mistake to suppose that Guardians are against reform. It would be truer to say that they are against revolution; and they are quite right in opposing any radical change of system. They feel that they are quite able to manage the children whose misfortune it is to be thrown on the rates for support. Every system of dealing with Poor Law children now in use is capable of producing good results. One system suits one locality better than another, while a combination of systems is also useful. The Local Government Board and the Boards of Guardians are much better judges than their critics of what system, or combination of systems, should be adopted in any particular Union. Whether the results of any system which may be adopted are good or bad depends upon its administration. If those who superintend it are really zealous for the children's welfare—and there is no Board of Guardians, especially now that so many ladies have seats upon them, which has not, at least, one or two Guardians who specially interest themselves in the matter—any of the systems can be made to succeed.

It has been the object of this work not to advocate any one system, but rather to point out how defects, from which no system can be entirely free, may be remedied. If we have in any way succeeded in our object, our book will not have been written in vain.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER¹

EDUCATION IN POOR LAW SCHOOLS

THE workhouse school proper has been for twenty years a diminishing quantity; and it can hardly be doubted that another twenty years will see its disappearance. Any figures given on this point will be somewhat loose, since change operates continually; but as on the one hand it is certain that the 16,595 children who were being educated in 1895 in "Workhouse and separate Poor Law Schools, other than District Schools,"² considerably exceed the number who are educated in this manner at the present date, so on the other hand do the children educated in "separate" Poor Law Schools considerably outnumber those educated in "Workhouse" Schools, even when the largest extension is given to the latter term. However, for certain purposes all Poor Law Schools, including the District School, may be taken together; and it would be quite premature at the present time to assume that the Poor Law School will have vanished in another twenty years. How, then, are the twenty-two or twenty-three thousand children, who are receiving scholastic as well as industrial education from Poor Law Authorities exclusively, being educated at this moment?

Before answering this question, let the intrinsic difficulties of such education be considered. How long is any given child, on the average, subject to it? Look at page 68 of the Annual Report of the Local Government Board for the year 1894-5: there the analysis is given of the time during which, at a given date, each of the 700 Swinton children had been pupils in that very carefully managed school. Out of the 700,

441 had been in the school 1 year or less.

94	"	"	"	2 years	"
53	"	"	"	3	"
40	"	"	"	4	"
38	"	"	"	5	"
12	"	"	"	6	"
14	"	"	"	7	"
4	"	"	"	8	"
4	"	"	"	9	"

¹ This chapter has been contributed by a friend of the author's who has a special acquaintance with the subject.

² 25 *L. G. B.*, p. 514.

Mr. Birkby, the Superintendent of the Swinton Schools, who gives these statistics, adds that during the preceding year there had been 640 admissions of children into, and 551 discharges of children from, the schools. It is plain that, in so fluctuating a body, a great many children must pass through the schools without receiving any permanent impression from them; and if the children be regarded in the mass, very erroneous conclusions may be drawn as to the merit of the education given to so miscellaneous an assemblage.¹

True, a genuine conclusion might be obtained, if it were possible to regard solely the 100 or 150 children who had been three or four years (or upwards) in the school. It may be conceded that an ideal teacher would, and a good actual teacher with some approximation does, regard children with increasing individual interest, the longer they have been under his or her care. But the individualising of children is an arduous task; and it is an attempt which it is even dangerous to recommend too strongly, for it may result in favouritism. Within limits, however, it must be recommended; and perhaps it may even be said that the greatest forward step that any teacher (or even, perhaps, that any inspector) could take in regard to a Poor Law School would be resolutely to attend to the career of such individual children as come most under the influence of Poor Law institutions, to separate them from the mass of those who pass through these institutions more transiently, and to resolve that, as far as possible, the education of these children should be thorough-going and satisfactory.

It is not, however, very easy to carry out such an idea as this. There are a great many most necessary matters in which every child has to receive an equal regard, whether he or she has been only seven days in the school, or seven years. Equally in the one case as in the other, the child has to be clothed, fed, taught, and the disposal of its time in the main regulated; and the weakness of humanity causes those higher interests which consist in the observation of character to fall into the background. If this is true of teachers, *a fortiori* it must be true of inspectors, who see the children in any particular school only once or twice in the year. And the methods of inspection prescribed till lately by the Education Department, and followed even yet by the Local Government Board, have by the very fact of their apparent thoroughness tended to discourage that reasonable discrimination between child and child which is necessary for vital education.

In public elementary schools mechanical methods meet with a certain corrective in the natural vitality of the children, and in the facility with which they pick up knowledge from constantly rubbing

¹ See also *ante*, pp. 129, 316, and 325.

against other people, parents or other relatives, or schoolfellows. In Poor Law Schools this corrective, for obvious reasons, does not exist to anything like an equal extent.

This is enough to show that the problem of education in Poor Law Schools is really a very difficult one. The advocates of unlimited boarding-out will, indeed, say that it is not merely difficult, but insoluble. This, however, ought not to be admitted. The difficulty is great enough to render alternative schemes (such as boarding-out, or sending the children to public elementary schools for their scholastic education) desirable; but there will remain for a considerable time a large number of children in whose case no substitute for the Poor Law School is available, and it is therefore necessary to consider what the present educational status of Poor Law Schools is, and how it may be improved.

Long before the Report of the recent Departmental Committee had turned the existence of the large Poor Law Schools into a burning question, the school inspectors of the Local Government Board had stated in their annual reports those deficiencies of general intelligence in the children of those schools, which that Report brought into prominence. Thus Mr. Holgate says:¹

"As in previous years, I have to notice with regret the poor quality of the reading, which, though of sufficient accuracy to secure a pass, is, with but few exceptions, very imperfect in articulation, emphasis, and punctuation, and monotonous in the extreme. The spelling in Standards IV. and III. is also of a very inferior description, and I am disposed to think that the weakness in this subject and in reading arises, as I said in last year's report, from the monotony of life in an institution destroying the energy and the interest of both the children and their teachers."

This opinion has a trenchancy which might have satisfied even the Departmental Committee; but it is fair to qualify it by saying that the children to whom it refers have been subject not merely to the "monotony" of institutional life, but also (for the most part) to a great deal more of the undesirable variability of life in the slums of London.

Still more compendiously Mr. Holgate, in his Report for 1885, summed up the results of education in Poor Law Schools:²

"What can be taught by fixed rule is generally now done creditably, and often with great accuracy, whilst anything that taxes originality of thought is, very often, a lamentable failure."

¹ In 1886. See 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 111.

² 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 46.

To the same effect, though not quite so pointed, is Mr. Byam Davies's opinion as given in 1884:¹

"Although a larger percentage pass in reading than in writing and arithmetic, it is the subject that I am the least satisfied with, as, even where the children read fluently, they seldom appear really to understand the subject-matter of their books. I hope that this will improve somewhat by degrees, but as long as the children are restricted, as they must be in a workhouse, to each other's society, I am afraid that fluency and correctness in reading will be all that we shall find as a rule."

Mr. Mozley is rather more lenient than his colleagues, and draws a certain distinction between boys and girls. Thus, in his Report for 1886,² after saying that the percentage of passes is not unsatisfactory, he adds:

"I wish it were equally possible to say that the intellect, and, still more, that the soul, of the children had been vitally touched by the course of instruction which they have received; but this is a thing of which the manifestations must, by the nature of the case, be rare, and traces of improvement are with difficulty to be ascertained. Moreover, the shortness of the time during which many of the children remain in these schools is a great impediment to the growth of slow-growing influences, and still more to the observation of them by outsiders. Yet real intellectual interest in the things around them is frequently shown by the boys; by the girls, more rarely."

In a similar way, he says, in 1889:³

"There is nothing more noticeable in Poor Law Schools than the superiority of boys to girls in all that brings out intelligence. . . . I have usually attributed this to the fact that the girls here have more drudgery and less liberty than the boys; but I suspect that, besides this, the depression of the weaker sex is naturally greater the lower one goes in the social strata."

Various instances are given by the same inspector which show, sometimes rather amusingly, the calibre of mind of the child educated in a Poor Law School. Part of the following passage is, perhaps, rather favourable to the children concerned, from the point of their capacity for observation. It occurs in his Report for 1891.⁴

"Object lessons may be given so as to excite interest, but the information given is apt to be too bookish. The observant answer is not always the answer intended. Lately, when a schoolmistress in Lancashire had been giving an object lesson on water, I asked at the end, 'What two kinds of water are there on the earth's surface?' Several children answered, 'Clean and dirty water'; and those who

¹ 14 *L. G. B.*, p. 60.

² 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 146.

³ 16 *L. G. B.*, p. 94.

⁴ 20 *L. G. B.*, p. 178.

have seen the river Irwell will admit that the answer was the result of correct observation, though 'salt and fresh' was in my mind. Less exact was another little girl, who, when I asked what water became when it was made very hot, answered, 'Tea.'

On the other hand, the following passage is not creditable to the subjects of it:¹

"The number of girls of 11 or 12 years of age who are ignorant of the name of their own country and of the capital of England is startling. The other day I asked a girls' school in Lincolnshire (in which were half-a-dozen girls of 12 years of age) the name of the capital of England; one said 'Lincoln,' another said 'Skegness'; after repeated efforts, the question being put in various ways, the top girl at last said 'London.' I have found a sixth standard girl in Yorkshire attending a public elementary school (being sent from the workhouse) who did not possess either of those two simple pieces of knowledge that I have mentioned. Of course the fourth standard girls, etc., in the same workhouse were equally ignorant."

It will be noticed that the conclusion of the above passage implies that the deficiency in the intellectual progress of the children is apt to remain even when they are sent to a public elementary school. Here is another passage which gives some means of testing the arithmetical power of the children. Mr. Mozley, again, is responsible for the passage:²

"Perhaps it may be of interest if I set down here a few of the questions which I have asked in various schools. Here is one: 'Three trees are planted along a straight road, each tree being a hundred yards distant from the next; what is the distance between the first tree and the third?' Even the best children will for the most part answer, 'Three hundred yards'; though when told that this is wrong, there is generally a boy or two able to give the correct answer, 'Two hundred yards.' Another similar question is this: after having ascertained that they know what a draught-board is, and that each edge has eight squares, I ask, 'How many squares are there in all four edges of the board together?' Never, I think, has there been a child who has given me, without previous error, the correct answer, twenty-eight. The stupid children of course say nothing; the clever children say thirty-two, even when the actual draught-board, or a picture of it, is before them. However, here again, there are generally a few who can correct their error, when told that it is an error. I will give one more of my questions in this line, and this time it shall be one which has not unfrequently been answered correctly the first time of asking: 'A farmer goes to pay his rent; he carries it in sovereigns in a bag; it takes him just half-an-hour to reach his landlord's house. But there is a hole in his bag which he does not know of, and out of this every minute a sovereign drops, and the

¹ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 146.

² 17 *L. G. B.*, p. 90.

landlord, on his presenting the bag, tells him that he has only brought half his rent. What was his rent?' The answer, £60, is often produced without difficulty, and this question represents, perhaps, the high-water mark of the children in the schools which I inspect as far as mental arithmetic is concerned. That mark is at once overstepped when I ask further, 'Supposing the landlord had said, You have brought me only a third of the rent; what would then have been the farmer's rent?' The best children, and even the teachers themselves, generally suppose the answer to be £90, forgetting that if the farmer brings a third of his rent, the portion which he has lost is two-thirds of it, and that therefore the correct answer is £45."

The reader who happens to be acquainted with any town or village school may try, if he or she likes, whether answers to the above questions are readily obtained in such a school.

On the whole, from all the evidence producible, it is clear that while exact rules of many kinds are capable of being taught to the children in Poor Law Schools, there is a want in these children of flexibility of mind, of readiness, of intelligence; a defect more noticeable among the girls than among the boys, but still not absent even in the case of the boys. This defect is not solely caused by the intrinsic character of the Poor Law Schools, but is also largely due to the low original status of the children, and to their frequently vagrant or starved life in the intervals when they are taken out of the workhouse by their parents (if they have any); but whatever the cause, the seriousness of it is indisputable. There is no direct remedy advocated in the reports of the school inspectors of the Local Government Board, but they strongly advocate, as calculated to raise the character of the children, moderation and judicious choice in the industrial work given them, and a sufficiency of playtime with proper care in the direction of it. Thus Mr. Holgate, writing in 1885, says:¹

"To my thinking the full meaning of education, whether industrial or mental, will never be grasped, its full result will never be attained, so long as there remains any inclination on the part of school committees to utilise the labour or the handicraft of the children as a means of reducing the cost of the establishment which was created for their education and for no other purpose."

This is stringent doctrine. Whether it be in the absolute sense true, the passage from Mr. Holgate's Report for 1886 (which has been already quoted)² is one of the evidences of legitimate progress, really gratifying to those interested in the schools concerned. Nor is the instance he gives an isolated one of the practice indicated; still the practice is rare, and it is much to be wished that it could be extended. The other

¹ 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

means for improvement of character on which the inspectors dwell—the regulation of the play hours of the children—is illustrated by some gratifying instances of games played between Poor Law Schools and other outside schools or institutions (see Mr. Mozley's report for 1884,¹ and that of Mr. Holgate for 1889),² but, also, it is plain that there is great room for improvement in this quarter. Thus Mr. Holgate says:³

"Children in many a Poor Law School get through their small modicum of playtime in a most miserable fashion, and that too often from their very ignorance, which the officers set over them do not interest themselves to dispel";

And Mr. Mozley says:⁴

"There is no more difficult subject connected with Poor Law Schools than the amusements of the children. I was speaking on this subject lately to one of the best superintendents in my district, and he said: 'The hardest work my teachers have is the superintendence of the children in the play hours; they prefer the school work; there the duties are of the nature of routine and can be done with ease; in the playground it is quite different.'"

It will be evident that, with all the defects of Poor Law Schools, which must not be underestimated, there is a continual movement towards remedying them; and that the disadvantages which lie in the original status of the children, and the unworthy character of their parents and relatives, much outweigh any defects of the schools themselves, when their results are considered. Still, there are such defects; and one, which the school inspectors of the Local Government Board have not dwelt upon, and perhaps could not dwell upon, lies in the technical character of the school inspection, in which one child is reckoned equivalent to another child, without any proper regard being had to the very different history of the children, and the differences in the duration of their stay in the schools. The Local Government Board has in fact followed in the steps of the Education Department. Twenty years ago, even twelve years ago, the methods of inspection prescribed by the Education Department were in the highest degree technical. Now they are so no longer; but the Local Government Board has not yet emerged out of a similar technicality. One of the steps of progress is probably the replacing of purely technical examinations by a more free kind of inquiry and testing of the children, so that the individual children may be more kept in mind, and most especially those who are longest in the schools, for whom the Poor Law School system is in the largest degree responsible.

¹ 14 *L. G. B.*, p. 47.

² 15 *L. G. B.*, p. 47.

³ 19 *L. G. B.*, p. 156.

⁴ 17 *L. G. B.*, p. 92.

APPENDIX A.

A CRITICISM OF THE REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN POOR LAW SCHOOLS.

WE have explained in our introductory chapter¹ the origin of the Departmental Committee, whose Report has been, since its appearance, the subject of so much discussion. Although that Report has been used in support of revolutionary changes in the Poor Law of the whole country, it must not be forgotten that the Committee was merely appointed to inquire into "the existing systems for the maintenance and education of children under the charge of Managers of District Schools and Boards of Guardians in the *Metropolis*, and to advise as to any changes which may be desirable." It is not, therefore, correct to refer to the Committee as the "Poor Law Schools Committee," as is almost always done. It should be described as the "Metropolitan Poor Law Schools Committee. The distinction is not always borne in mind.

SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY.

The Report opens with an enumeration of the various institutions existing on the 24th November, 1894, for the benefit of Metropolitan Poor Law children, together with the numbers of the children in them over two years of age chargeable to the different Metropolitan Unions and parishes at that date. The following table summarises the information given:

INSTITUTIONS.	Number of Children.			
	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
30 Workhouses . . .	...	...	...	1159
30 Infirmaries . . .	...	...	...	972
6 District Schools . . .	3268	2434	1116	6818
12 Separate Schools . . .	2247	1590	884	4721
16 Roman Catholic } Certified Schools }	1103	884	378	2265*
Other Certified Schools . . .	...	...	...	302
Training-ship <i>Exmouth</i> . . .	582	...	...	582
Boarded out . . .	...	...	...	968
Total	...	...	...	17,807

* This number only includes those children who were sent from Metropolitan Unions to these Schools.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The following are the particulars of the District Schools:

DISTRICT.	Date of Formation.	Constituent Unions or Parishes.	Situation.	Number of Children.			
				Boys	Girls	Infants	Total
1. Central London	Mar. 6, 1849	City of London St. Saviour's	Hanwell	533	399	201	1133
2. S. Metropolitan	Mar. 12, 1849	Camberwell Greenwich St. Olave's Woolwich Stepney	Four Schools— Brighton Road	1076	101	364	1541
			Sutton	..	629	..	629
			Banstead	58	71	37	166
			Herne Bay Witham	105	117	..	222
3. North Surrey	April 5, 1849	Lewisham Wandsworth and Clapham	Anerley	446	329	119	894
4. West London	Feb. 7, 1868	Fulham Paddington St. George's	Ashford	367	279	131	777
5. Forest Gate	June 25, 1868	Poplar Whitechapel	West Ham	318	275	108	701
6. Kensington and Chelsea*	Aug. 15, 1876	Kensington Chelsea	Banstead	365	234	156	755
				3268	2434	1116	6818

The following are the particulars of the Separate Schools:

SCHOOLS.	Situation.	Number of Children.			
		Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
Bethnal Green . . .	Leytonstone . .	241	157	158	556
St. George's-in-the-East	Plashet . . .	137	92	49	278
Hackney	Brentwood . . .	227	139	88	454
Holborn	Mitcham	221	156	109	486
Islington	Holloway	194	128	93	415
Lambeth	West Norwood . .	278	228	..	506
St. Marylebone . . .	Southall	171	106	65	342
Mile End†	Mile End	26	25	25	76
St. Pancras	Leavesden	321	252	117	690
Shoreditch*	Hornchurch . . .	159	116	77	352
Strand	Edmonton	196	146	50	392
Westminster	Tooting	76	45	53	174
		2247	1590	884	4721

* The schools of these parishes are arranged on the Cottage Homes system. For a description of the Hornchurch Schools see *ante*, p. 145.

† The Mile End Schools were practically closed at Lady-day, 1893, but in November, 1894, there were 76 children in the buildings at Mile End under the care of three officers: a foster-father, a foster-mother, and a nurse.

It will be observed that two Metropolitan parishes, viz., Hampstead, and St. Giles, Bloomsbury, are omitted in the above lists. These parishes have no schools of their own, Hampstead sending its children to the Separate School at Tooting, and St. Giles to that at Edmonton. Mile End had about 300 children to deal with, one-third of whom went to Plashet, another one-third to Hornchurch, while the balance of 100 children were kept in a separate part of the workhouse, being sent out as day scholars to the neighbouring Ben Jonson Board School.

It will also be observed how the number of scholars in the different schools varies—from 1541 in the Brighton Road Schools, Sutton, to 166 at the Herne Bay Schools. Thus:

One school has more than	.	1500 children.		
" " " between	.	1000 and 1200 children.		
" " " " " "	.	800	"	900
Three schools " have between	.	700	"	800
Two " " " " "	.	600	"	700
Two " " " " "	.	500	"	600
Three " " " " "	.	400	"	500
Three " " " " "	.	300	"	400
Two " " " " "	.	200	"	300
Two " " " under	.	200	"	"

So that of twenty District and Separate Schools only three have more than 800 children, and ten less than 500 children. But the Report tars them all with the same brush, all being subject in a greater or less degree to the "dangers and disadvantages attending the massing of the pauper children into one large institution."¹

At the same time, as to the three largest schools (Sutton, Hanwell, and Anerley), the Committee admit that the buildings "have been erected and equipped with great liberality. The sites have been well chosen, ample ground has been secured for recreation, and some of the results achieved, as set forth from time to time in the Reports of the Local Government Board and in other ways, have furnished evidence of the care and humanity with which the institutions have generally been managed."

But the bias against large schools and in favour of boarding-out which pervades the whole Report is exhibited already in the first chapter of the Report. To begin with, it was scarcely necessary to inform the public that in a large aggregated school "the community differs materially from an ordinary boarding school, and is wholly unlike a home."²

Then the following charge is made:

"There is little room in it for honourable emulation, and not much to encourage aspiration after a higher standard of thinking and of living. Such a school, even when most carefully and conscientiously managed, cannot furnish the training which will qualify its possessors to enter the ordinary markets of the world, or to hold their own with children who have been brought up under more natural conditions."³ *The evidence of nearly all our most experienced witnesses strongly confirms this view.*"

It is a pity that no reference to this evidence is given.⁴ To take the girls it is sufficient for our purpose to refer to the evidence of Miss Poole, the Secretary of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, a Society which undertakes to look after all the girls who leave the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools for service. She begins

¹ Report, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ We assume, however, that it is that of Dr. Barnardo, Miss Townsend, Mr. Ernest Hart, Rev. J. W. Horsley, Rev. T. E. Howlett, and Miss A. L. Lea.

by saying that the "school" girls must be compared with girls of their own class, and not with *ideal* young servants, if a *fair* judgment is to be passed on them.¹ Judged by this test she finds that they are preferred on the whole by mistresses to other girls of the same class "*who have been brought up under more natural conditions*," and whom the Society distinguishes as "locals," and she produced evidence from the trained agents of the Society in support of her statement. We may tabulate her evidence on the point as follows:²

Reports of the Trained Agents of the M. A. B. Y. S. on "School" and "Local" Girls who came under the Care of the Society.

DISTRICT.	Experience of the Trained Agent.	No. of Girls dealt with.	Whether "Locals" or "School" Girls keep their places best.	Preferred by Mistresses.
Lambeth . . .	12 years	450	School girls	School girls decidedly.
Holborn . . .	10½ "	200	Local girls	Local girls.
Islington . . .	10 "	1200	School girls	School girls.
Chelsea . . .	19 "	300	About equal	No preference one way or the other.
Marylebone . . .	11 "	800	School girls	School girls.
Fulham . . .	12 "	650	"	"
Hackney . . .	9 "	600	"	"
Deptford . . .	7 "	211	"	"
Camberwell . . .	13 "	1200	"	"
Woolwich . . .	10 "	120	"	"
Westminster . . .	18 "	1200	"	"
Greenwich . . .	12 "	350	"	"
Richmond . . .	5½ "	50	About equal	"
Wandsworth . . .	13 "	1760	School girls	"
St. Pancras . . .	18 "	1000	"	No preference one way or the other.
Whitechapel . . .	10 "	230	No answer	No answer.
Hampstead . . .	3 "	122	School girls	School girls.
Bethnal Green . . .	7 "	200	Local girls	No preference one way or the other.
Ealing . . .	8 "	200	"	Local girls.
Poplar . . .	8 "	150	School girls	School girls.

It will scarcely be believed that Miss Poole's most valuable evidence, showing the inaccuracy of the statement made by the Committee as to the inability of "the 'school' girls to enter the ordinary markets of the world or to hold their own with children who have been brought up under more natural conditions," is absolutely ignored in the Report.

Then we have the evidence of Mrs. R. Henniker, one of the managers of the West London District Schools, and of Miss McKee, a St. Marylebone Guardian, that the great majority of the girls who leave the schools turn out well.³ Miss Tillard, who was a Guardian for Westminster, told the Committee that there was so great a demand for girls from the Tooting Schools that they could not be supplied fast enough; that very few of them came back to the workhouse; only four during a space of ten years, and two of the four returned on account of bad health.⁴ Mr. J. G. Wainwright, the Chairman of the

¹ Evidence, Q. 4027.

² *Ibid.*, Qs. 5547, 7956.

³ *Ibid.*, Qs. 4064-4071.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Qs. 2907-2910.

Managing Committee of the Anerley Schools, gave evidence to the same effect. He told the Departmental Committee that there was no difficulty in finding situations for either boys or girls; that the schools had got a good reputation; that there was no need to advertise for employers. He said:

"We always ask the applicants how they ascertain that we had children to send out, and they generally say 'Mrs. So-and-So had a child and it did well,' or 'Mr. So-and-So has had a boy and he did well, and I thought I might have one.' So it comes about, it spreads; we do not advertise. Many masters and mistresses have come again and again."¹

As regards the boys, the Rev. R. H. Hadden, a manager of the Central London District School from 1883 to 1892, said that on the whole they got on as well as the average boys from the public elementary schools,² while Mr. Steer (South Metropolitan District School) gave evidence as to the very large majority doing well.³ Can it be that all this evidence was neglected because the witnesses were connected with the schools and consequently "experts"?

In Appendix No. 34 to the Minutes of Evidence⁴ will be found the reports of the superintendents of the Working Boys' Homes on the Poor Law boys who make use of them. These reports show that *in health* these boys are at last equal to the other boys making use of the Homes. The different reports do not entirely agree in other respects, but the report from Mr. G. Horton, the superintendent of Tyndale House, is very significant. He says:

"I have found in my ten years' experience those who have been working at various trades in the Poor Law Schools more apt to learn than those outside, the technical training received there being a great advantage to them. Some of the boys I have selected from the Poor Law Schools, and who have been under my care, are now doing well, earning £2 and £3 per week as pianoforte makers. One, only twenty-one years of age, is a foreman carpenter earning 37s. per week; another, twenty-two years of age, who has four boys working under him, and will, if his life is spared, be foreman in a large factory, earns 30s. per week. He is also a Sunday-school teacher, and a member of a Christian Church, and one of the most thorough, sincere fellows I have ever had. These were all taught carpentry in various Poor Law Schools, viz., the Central London District School, Hanwell, St. Pancras, Leavesden, and North Surrey District School, and some equally promising from the West Norwood Schools."⁵

Curiously enough the *largest* of the Poor Law Schools, Hanwell, is the one which is most favourably reported upon by these superintendents, and when it is remembered that the boys who go to these Homes are by no means the best specimens of the boys turned out from the schools, the reports upon them must on the whole be considered favourable.

¹ Evidence, Qs. 2074-2075. There is a hard and fast rule at Anerley that no girl shall go to a single-handed place. *Ibid.* Q. 2178.

² *Ibid.*, Qs. 5972, 8577, and 17,390.

⁴ Vol. iii., p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 3535.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Mr. Lockwood's valuable statistics, to which we have already referred,¹ support the evidence given before the Committee to show that the children educated in Metropolitan Poor Law Schools were de-pauperised, and *did* receive a training at the schools to qualify them "to enter the ordinary markets of the world, or to hold their own with children who have been brought up under more natural conditions," *but these statistics, too, are conspicuous by their absence from the Report.* It is facts such as these which have laid the Report open to the charges both of the *suppressio veri* and of the *suggestio falsi*.

Then, after throwing, in the form of a large generalisation, as much mud as possible at the large schools, in the expectation, amply fulfilled, that some of it would stick, the Committee go on to say that "the testimony received from our witnesses is emphatically in favour of the boarding-out of pauper children as the best system, one which secures to them the healthiest and most natural life, and gives them the best chance of escaping pauper associations and becoming absorbed into the respectable working population. The same testimony is *almost uniformly* unfavourable to the extension and even to the retention of large institutions in which children all belong to the same class, and subject to the same early disadvantages, are formed into one artificial community, and are kept apart and out of reach of those influences by which the schools and the social institutions and life of the industrial classes are being gradually improved."²

We have already in our chapter on "Boarding-out" so fully pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of the system that we need only here point to the above extract as showing the strong prejudice against large schools which it exhibits. It would have been quite possible to set forth fairly and dispassionately the advantages of "boarding-out" *for particular classes of children* without depreciating these schools.

Indeed, we must once more draw attention to the fact that boarded-out children are all *selected* and must be *healthy* subjects. The Poor Law Schools have to deal with the residuum. The Report does not refer to the evidence of Mr. F. Harston on this point. He showed that out of 740 children in the Banstead Schools at Michaelmas, 1894, no fewer than 150 were defective either mentally or physically, and that these 150 children had no fewer than 216 defects between them.³ He also showed how year by year, from various causes, the best classes of children were gradually getting eliminated from the schools, and that they had to accept those whom orphanages and charitable schools would reject.⁴ This fact makes the "results" attained all the more remarkable, but the Committee never once, that we can find, mention it.

The comparison affords additional proof of the bias against the schools which animated the minds of the Committee; but if the comparison must be made we can only refer our readers to the facts and statistics which we have previously given,⁵ as showing that the

¹ *Ante*, p. 67. Evidence, pp. 374, 378, 379. These statistics were entirely confirmed by Lord Warkworth's later Return of the 22nd July, 1896. *Ante*, p. 128.

² Report, p. 9.

³ Evidence, Q. 8467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Qs. 8456, 8460, 8473.

⁵ *Ante*, pp. 211 *et seq.*

children educated in these schools do equally well, and in many cases better, in after life, than children boarded out. It will further be observed that the paragraph quoted would lead the ordinary reader to believe that all classes of pauper children can be safely boarded out, which is, of course, not the case.¹

SECTION II.

THE AGGREGATION OF CHILDREN IN LARGE INSTITUTIONS.

The next three chapters of the Report are devoted to pointing out the defects of "aggregation."² No distinction is made between schools with 1500 children and those with only one quarter the number. They are all condemned equally. While we must agree that overgrown schools, such as those at Hanwell and Sutton, are subject to great disadvantages, we are not prepared to condemn, nor does the evidence given to the Committee condemn, aggregated schools of a moderate size.³

Mr. Lockwood is indeed quoted in the Report as saying that 200 should be the maximum for any school.⁴ But this is one of the many instances in which only half the replies of witnesses are given. The full question and answer was as follows:

"Q. 9691. You think that 200 children are quite enough in a barrack school?—If I had the arranging of them I should say that 200 would be the maximum number that I should be disposed to deal with myself. *But I suppose that in the Metropolis anything like so low a maximum as that is out of the question.*"

It should be mentioned that some of the largest schools had already been broken up into blocks before the Committee was appointed, thus anticipating the recommendations of the Report.⁵

Nobody with any common sense can deny that the bigger the school is, the greater will be the danger of a serious outbreak of infectious disease; but, while we are fully alive to this danger, we think we have shown already how scanty and unreliable is the evidence produced in support of the charge that aggregated schools (no matter what size they may be) must of necessity affect injuriously the general health and the moral and mental development of the children.⁶

We will only point to a few additional facts which bear on this charge.⁷

1. The Committee say that "when children are brought up in large institutions the standard of health is lower than that of children living under ordinary conditions. This is shown by the fact that out of 16,444 children in Metropolitan Poor Law Schools no less than 1330 (equal to 8 per cent.) were unable to attend the examinations by reason

¹ See *post*, pp. 395, 396.

² Chapters II., III., IV.

³ As to what should be the exact limit "the doctors" are disagreed, although all agree that the number of children in a school should not exceed 500.

⁴ See Report, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ante*, pp. 113-121.

⁷ See also *post*, p. 369, where the evidence of Dr. Downes is quoted.

of illness."¹ By dint of diligent searching we have been able to discover that this statement is based on the evidence of Mr. Wyndham Holgate. He was being questioned by Mrs. Barnett.² "Q. Out of the 16,544 whom you examined, I learn from your Report that 1330 were sick? A. Yes.—Q. Does not that mean that they were prevented from coming to the examination by sickness? Yes.—Q. That is something like 8 per cent.? A. *You are speaking of an exceptional year.*—Q. But in other years it has amounted to something like 6 per cent., has it not? A. Yes, it has.—Q. Then if we apply the same calculation to the number of children who are in London Board Schools, it would mean then something like 48,000 children would be absent on examination days through illness? A. *Through the country.*—Q. In London? A. Yes, I see.—Q. That is a very much larger proportion than is the fact, is it not? A. I should say very much larger.—Q. So that we may take it that the number of children who are sick, and therefore disabled from coming up for examination in the Poor Law Schools, is very much in excess of that in the ordinary elementary schools? A. *With this qualification, I am not at all sure that if many of the children who now attend the School Board Schools were in our schools, a careful doctor would not send them to the infirmary very quickly.*—Q. They are not ill enough to prevent them coming up to be examined? A. That is so; and may I explain what I mean—at the Hanwell Schools we have full schools in the ophthalmic wards.—Q. Yes, I am fully aware of that. A. Do you not see?—Q. Yes, but the illnesses which prevented these 1330 children from being examined were disabling illnesses; they did not mean such illnesses as chilblains or eczema, or such things? A. *Unfortunately, I am afraid that these would be the very illnesses that would prevent them coming up for examination, not chilblains, but eczema; they are considered to be necessarily isolated.*—Q. Yes, if the eczema is of a catching order, but not otherwise? A. But there are doctors and doctors, and in one school a doctor will isolate a child when in the next school the answer would be, 'Oh, it is of no consequence.'—Q. Still, whether or not the standard of the doctors differs, the fact remains that there was enough sickness to exclude 8 per cent. of the children from going up for examination? A. I am afraid that is so."

And of course down goes *the fact* in the Committee's Report. Is it a fair summary of Mr. Holgate's evidence? We think every impartial minded person reading the *whole* of his evidence will say that it is not fair to the schools to take an exceptional year and generalise from that one year alone.

2. The second fact bears on the point of mental development. Dr. Littlejohn is quoted as having said that "*in some cases* the children will not even play unless a master will start the game. They will not play by themselves."³ Now anyone reading this paragraph would take this sentence as applying to several of the Poor Law Schools. We turn to the reference (Q. 495 in the Evidence), and we find that Dr. Littlejohn was only speaking of the schools of which he had personal knowledge. What he said was:

¹ Report, p. 16.

² Questions 15,702-15,714.

³ Report, p. 12.

"At our schools the children have been in the habit of having everything done for them, and unless you go and play with them, as a rule they will not play. If the master will go and play with them they will play, but if you simply show them the game they will not play by themselves. That seems to be a kind of natural tendency of the children."

Thus, on the evidence of one witness alone as to one particular school, the Committee think themselves entitled to convey to the public mind the impression that the children in large schools do not know how to play by themselves.

3. The other facts bear on moral development.

Mr. W. Pindard, the Superintendent of the "Macgregor House" Working Boys' Home, writes under the head of *moral training* as follows:

"My experience has taught me (and I admit it may be exceptional) that it is in favour of Poor Law Schools, many boys being quite ignorant of the vices of London boys, and when speaking of some vices, urging them to avoid the same, have found myself not understood."¹

The Committee gave much prominence to Dr. Barnardo's statement that "very few girls come from Poor Law institutions who have not, apparently, been more or less contaminated." He said that he had had to deal with over 200 girls from District Schools.² In the reply of the Metropolitan Guardians to the Report of the Departmental Committee³ his evidence on this point is thus commented on:

"We should like to know (1) Whether any Boards of Guardians send their children from their schools to Dr. Barnardo; (2) if the girls he speaks of *were* from District Schools or from Workhouses; (3) if from District Schools, whether they belonged to the class known as 'ins and outs.'

"Dr. Barnardo has been written to, and asked to give the names of any children received from District Schools, in order that inquiry may be made. His answer is given below:

"18-26, STEPNEY CAUSEWAY, LONDON, E.,

"4th March, 1897.

"DEAR SIR,—I am directed by Dr. Barnardo to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of inquiry, dated the 3rd inst., and to say that he hopes himself to reply to you some time next week; but he is far too overwhelmed at present with public and other duties to be able to turn aside and give the necessary attention to your letter.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"CLAUDE WRIGHT, *Private Secretary*.

"W. G. VANIE, ESQ.,

"Per J. P. V.

"45, Boscombe Road, Shepherd's Bush, W."

"No particulars have been received from him so far (20th March).⁴

"In connection with this, we may say that it is at least very unusual for the Managers of Poor Law Schools to send girls to Dr. Barnardo,

¹ Appendix to Evidence, vol. iii., p. 160.

² Report, p. 13.

³ This reply has been published by Messrs. P. S. King & Son, of Westminster.

⁴ Not up to the present time.

and that Mr. Fielder, of Lambeth, has made inquiries on that head of his brother superintendents, and ascertained that none of them have any knowledge of any such girls having been sent to Dr. Barnardo's institutions."

But the Committee were willing to listen to, take for granted as true, and print in their Report, any loose general statements made by the opponents of Poor Law Schools, while refusing credit, as it would seem, to the statements made on the other side by the officers of the schools, although those officers would have the most intimate acquaintance with the real facts.

Aggregation involves administrative difficulties. In illustration of this Miss F. Davenport Hill's evidence is referred to.¹ This lady gave a most pathetic and graphic account of how an unfortunate boy had died owing to bad treatment received at the hand of his schoolfellows.² The Committee swallowed the bait eagerly, without troubling themselves to ascertain whether the story was true or not. As a matter of fact, the boy did not die at all. The incident had happened ten years before, and Miss Hill's memory was at fault.

As to cases of cruelty or neglect being more liable to escape detection in a large school than in a village where the child is boarded out,³ we need only point to the Reports of Miss Mason in contradiction of the statement.⁴ Against the Nurse Gillespie case, to which so much prominence is given in the Report,⁵ we may well set out the Hockley case.

Miss Hockley and Miss Boucher were two friends who, after having been fairly well off, had fallen in the world, so much so that Miss Boucher was compelled to become an applicant for outdoor relief. At this time these women had the care of an orphan child named Frances Beatrice Hopkins, who had been boarded-out for five years with them—from the age of three—by the Plympton Board of Guardians. This child was taken away from them by the Guardians after the application for outdoor relief had been made. The case excited the sympathy of some ladies of the place who had been very kind to the two women, and, in order that the child might be returned to them by the Guardians, they formed a Boarding-out Committee for the purpose. The child was then boarded-out as before. At this time there was nothing to show that she was not well treated by her foster-aunts—indeed, a strong attachment seemed to exist between them and her. This was in 1889. It should be mentioned that the Boarding-out Committee, formed for the benefit of only one child, consisted of five ladies and one gentleman, all of good social standing. It is to be presumed that the committee were not satisfied with this single child, for they afterwards allowed, if not actually helped, the two women to obtain babies to nurse as a means of living; in other words, to become baby-farmers. They had at least five babies—three of them at one time. We will now continue the story in Miss Mason's own words.⁶

¹ Report, p. 14. ² Evidence, Q. 3077.

³ Per Miss Brodie Hall. See Report, p. 14.

⁴ Report, p. 14; and Appendix, A. 3.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 234.

⁶ See 22 *L. G. B.*, pp. 117-120.

"One of these babies died three weeks after they received it. Another, said to be a fine healthy child, was placed there in February, 1891, and paid for—3s. a week—till 15th July, 1891. On that day Miss Hockley received a lump sum of £18 down for its life, and it died on the 15th October, insured by Miss Hockley for 50s. Another baby was removed by its own mother on account of its neglected condition; and another, a few weeks old, was taken to the Plympton Workhouse, when Miss Hockley was brought before the magistrates. All this came out on the death of the fifth baby—Albert Mashford—whose mother, finding the condition he was in, took him to the Plympton Workhouse, where he shortly afterwards died, and an inquest was held upon him. The attention of the Plymouth Inspector of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was drawn to the case, and the Society took it up, but, on account of its importance, it was taken out of their hands by the Treasury. Albert Mashford was the child of a domestic servant, who paid for him periodically. He was insured for 50s. by arrangement between his mother and Miss Hockley. He had been with Miss Hockley but a year, and was between one and two years old at the time of his death. Both arms and one leg were found to have been broken, and left unset so long that one arm was joined at right angles. *The broken leg lay helpless across the other, and the broken arms upon the sides, until they made deep impressions in them. The child had been left to die in one position without any attention, in a horrible condition of dirt, and without proper food.*"

Miss Hockley was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude.

The Boarding-out Committee had visited the home constantly, and saw Albert Mashford frequently. But as they were not responsible for his supervision, they had no right to undress and examine him, and seeing thus only the outside were quite unaware that he had three limbs broken.

As to the boarded-out child, Beatrice Hopkins, "it was reported that she also had been ill-treated and neglected by her foster-aunts, and an inquiry into the subject was held by a Committee of the Guardians. The Reports of the Boarding-out Committee were produced, which stated that the girl's condition had been satisfactory. The Inspector of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was then called in, and he stated that when his wife received the girl she found her in a condition much the reverse. When asked how this statement could be reconciled with those of the Reports of the Boarding-out Committee, the Committee had to admit that they had made no investigation at first hand, but had trusted to the word of the foster-aunts." The Committee were duly censured, and having only been formed for the benefit of this one girl, voluntarily dissolved.

Miss Mason quoted the case as showing how useless inspection of boarded-out children is when not thorough. We quote it because it acts as a *pendant* to the Gillespie case. Fortunately justice has been done to both delinquents, and Hockley and Gillespie are now serving out their sentences, in striking illustration of the abuses to which the

most ideally perfect systems are always subject, when the supervising authorities do not thoroughly carry out their duties.

Again, the fact that the presence of infectious disease in a village near a large school necessitates cutting off the usual country walks of the children and limiting them for a time to the school playing grounds for exercise, can hardly be said to cause any administrative difficulty.¹ Nor would any difficulty of the kind arise if the visits of the children to their relations had to be stopped for a time.²

Not a tittle of evidence is given under the heading, "*Aggregation involves administrative difficulties*," which seems to us in any way relevant to the point.

Aggregation prevents proper cubic space and ventilation. But this desideratum is by no means impossible of attainment in large schools. Of course every care should be taken that they are not overcrowded. That they have been overcrowded at times of pressure, and that such a thing may occur occasionally, cannot be denied, and if "experts" can agree upon what is sufficient space and ventilation, the conditions which they hold to be necessary should be complied with. For it must be borne in mind that the necessity for greater cubic space and increased ventilation in public institutions generally, and not only in Poor Law Schools, has only been brought prominently to the front in recent years. "Experts," then, not being agreed on the subject, it does seem to us manifestly unfair to lay the blame at the door of school managers who have only been confused by the multitude of advisers, each of whom advocates his own pet scheme. And if such a thing as "the institution smell" exists, no one who has entered a working man's dwelling in an overcrowded part of a city or large town would be willing to exchange it for the "slum smell." The expression of course serves as an additional stone to cast against the large schools, and while the Committee quote Dr. Sykes' evidence at length, they do not mention Dr. Downes' answer to Mr. Mundella's question: "Is it not common in all these large institutions," *i.e.*, Poor Law Schools, "to find this so-called 'institution smell'?" "*They do not all smell.*"³

It seems a self-evident proposition that the want of proper ventilation in any institution must affect the vitality of the inmates, and especially of children, but that the evil is greatly exaggerated was shown by Dr. Downes in his evidence. His evidence on the point is dealt with so unfairly in the Report⁴ that we must quote what he said in full.

"Q. 8789. What is your observation of the general condition of children in Separate and District Schools? A. From that personal observation which I described to you?—Q. 8790. Yes. A. I must say that I was rather pleased to find that the general condition of children was better than I had expected to find it from what I had read about them. I had read a good deal on the subject. I came as a new-comer, and saw these schools for the first time, and I naturally judged that I should find something of what I had read about; but I cannot say

¹ Report, p. 14.

² Evidence, Q. 8754.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Report, p. 19.

that my acquaintance with the children entirely bears out all the assertions which have been published about them. I may say, first of all, that they were well fed, they were well clothed, and they appeared personally well cared for and clean; *but beyond that I found the younger children, in particular, on the whole, I thought, bright and happy. I judged of this by what I saw as I examined them,* and the elder children were more lively than I had expected to find them. The class that I think, on the whole, I was least satisfied with was the younger boys in the large schools—those boys appeared to me to be, in many cases, of defective vitality, and did not seem as if they exercised enough, and they suffered too much, in some cases, from chilblains, superficial whitlow, and diseases of that class.”¹

The Committee say that the fact “that the children suffer from chilblains is not surprising, when it is known that at one school the little boys have to undress in the day-room and go naked along the passage to the bath-room. No provision is made for warming the lavatory, and consequently in the winter it is very cold.”²

The school referred to is that at Sutton. Why did the Committee not add that the bath-room had been warmed with radiators since Dr. Stephenson’s Report,³ and that, with regard to the juniors undressing in the day-room and walking along the passage to the bath-room, the managers intended to alter the practice, although it had not occurred to them to do so until that Report?⁴

In any case such defects can easily be remedied, and are not in the slightest degree inherent in large schools.

Aggregation encourages ophthalmia. Large schools are alleged, further, to specially encourage *ophthalmia*, the “great bane of these Poor Law Schools.” “It has been almost impossible to keep it down to anything like a reasonable amount.” “It is still the curse of these institutions.” “It has been a scourge in the Pauper Schools of London from time immemorial, and from it they are practically never free.” “It sometimes assumes proportions of alarming magnitude, and we believe that it will continue to do so as long as the present system exists.”

It is quite impossible for us to enter thoroughly upon a criticism of the chapter of the Report which deals with the subject. All we can show is that it need not be the “great bane” and the “curse” of Poor Law institutions, whether they are large or small, and that it is quite possible not only to keep it down to a reasonable amount, but to free the schools entirely from it.

Dr. Littlejohn is referred to as the authority for the statement that “*ophthalmia* is still the curse of these institutions.” Anyone reading the Report would be led to think that this was Dr. Littlejohn’s latest

¹ Evidence, p. 323.

² Report, p. 19. When we think of what our fathers had to go through at boarding schools in times not so very far removed from the present, they might, could they see a modern Poor Law School, well envy the lot of the pauper boys in regard to the arrangement of dormitories, washing appliances, etc.

³ Evidence, Q. 4767.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Qs. 6630-6633.

opinion. We will therefore give the question put to him and his answer to it.

"Q. 399. You say in your Report in 1883 that though improvement has gone on, you consider ophthalmia is still the curse of our schools?" (p. 37) "A. Yes, I believe that ophthalmia was, *up to that time*, the curse of the Central London District School."¹

It was Mr. Hedley who said that, "during the time that I have known the schools" (*i.e.*, up to 1894), "ophthalmia has been their great bane; it has been almost impossible to prevent its constantly breaking out, and to keep it down to anything like a reasonable amount," but he was far from attributing it to the size of the schools. He went on to say "it can never be abolished, *because it exists among the population from which the schools are recruited*, and therefore you must always have it; and for my part the remedy I should like to see would be the establishment of two Metropolitan ophthalmic hospitals, to which all children might be at once taken, either when they were found on first admission to be suffering from eye disease, or when any case occurred in any one of the schools."²

It was Dr. Stephenson who, in outlining a scheme for the establishment of a central ophthalmic school under the Metropolitan Asylums Board, said, "A scheme such as I have outlined appears to offer the only satisfactory plan of coping with a disease that has been a scourge in the pauper schools of London from time immemorial."³

It was Mr. Ernest Hart who, in answer to the question, "Then would we understand from you that between what are spoken of as epidemics or outbreaks, the schools were free from ophthalmia?" guardedly answered, "I should *think* never free."⁴

All those, therefore, who, from personal knowledge and not from hearsay, are able to speak with authority on the question, give it as their opinion that the presence of ophthalmia in Poor Law Schools is preventible. They could hardly say otherwise. We have seen that the Ashford Schools house nearly 800 children, and yet for fifteen or sixteen years they have been free from any outbreak of ophthalmia.⁵

This evidence is not referred to in the Report.

At the Anerley Schools the disease has not been present since 1885, nor, with the exception of one small outbreak⁶ in that year owing to the reception of an infant in whom the existence of the disease escaped detection, since 1872!

What has been done at Anerley and Ashford can surely be effected at other schools, although the establishment of one special ophthalmic hospital-school or more would be of great assistance in preventing the introduction or spread of the disease.

The examples of Anerley and Ashford seem also to contradict the conclusion of the Committee that large schools necessarily favour ophthalmic disease. That they will do so *if overcrowded* needs no

¹ Evidence, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, Q. 9379.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Q. 1010.

⁵ Miss Bramston's Evidence, Qs. 13,450, 13,576-88, 13,607-15, 13,638.

⁶ Report, p. 23.

demonstration. In support of their conclusion the Committee refer to the evidence of Dr. Littlejohn, among others, as showing that when the children enter the schools with eyelids not absolutely healthy, the effect of their stay in the schools is to render their eyelids less and less healthy until at last they "get ophthalmia."¹ Now Dr. Littlejohn was very severely examined on the point. He was speaking from his experience of the Hanwell Schools. The following passage in his evidence, however, was *not* "selected":

*"It was my opinion that children coming in with slightly unhealthy eyes, and being massed together, as they used to be—I am not speaking of what is done now—massed together within walls with bad ventilation, would have a tendency to develop ophthalmia or to catch it. The conditions are now very different. The school has been cut up; the dormitories are well ventilated; the whole of the washing arrangements have been reorganized and made better, and cases of ophthalmia comparatively rarely now occur in the school, and then they are only in a very slight form."*²

Having thus only quoted a small portion of Dr. Littlejohn's evidence on the point, the Committee go on to give a table in support of his mutilated opinion.³ This table is taken from a Report of 1890 of Dr. Stephenson's. It compared the condition of children which have been over a year in the Hanwell School with those who had spent a year or less there, and was as follows:

CHILDREN IN SCHOOL.	Total No. of children.	Eyelids healthy.	Decidedly granular.
More than one year . .	684	per cent. 11'70	per cent. 13'30
One year or less . .	144	33'33	3'47

The object of inserting the table in the Report is of course intended to show that the tendency is for the "granular cases" to increase according to the length of stay in the school. It is *not* stated that, while Dr. Stephenson did not deny the validity of the table, his explanation of it was that in that particular year contagion was rife in the school at the time, and that such a result was to be expected.⁴ This is probably the natural explanation of the other statistics given in the Report.⁵

The further evidence referred to in this section of the chapter on "ophthalmia"⁶ seems to point to "overcrowding" and want of care in admitting children not free from the disease to the schools, as the causes of outbreaks. The examples of Anerley and Ashford prove this. If these be the causes, as the evidence seems to show, it follows that ophthalmia need no more be present in "barrack schools," properly arranged and ventilated, than it is among children boarded-out in the country. But here again the Committee cannot

¹ Report, p. 27.

² Report, p. 27.

³ Report, pp. 27, 28.

⁴ Evidence, Q. 466.

⁵ Evidence, Q. 1115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

resist a comparison between large schools and "boarding-out," much to the disadvantage of the former.¹ The unfairness of the comparison is shown by the fact that the following schools have been practically freed from attacks of ophthalmia: (1) Banstead (Cottage Homes),² Anerley (Barrack School),³ Ashford (Barrack School),⁴ Leavesden (Barrack School).⁵ What can be done by one large school can be done by another, but, as we have said, the Committee were determined to condemn aggregated schools, and preferred to dwell on the disadvantages they labour under with bad administration rather than to point out their many advantages and to show that their admitted defects were not beyond remedy. Indeed, Mr. Brooke Lambert, who with Mr. Vallance was unable to concur in the sweeping censures passed on the aggregated schools, drew attention to the fact that there is a large hospital school at Greenwich, containing from 900 to 1000 boys; that these boys are taken from much the same class as those who come into our unions, but are carefully examined as regards health; and that ophthalmia has been exterminated in such a school as that."⁶

In an interesting letter to the *Christian World* (April, 1896), Mr. H. J. Cook, the Chairman of the Forest Gate Schools, wrote as follows, and his remarks entirely support our contention that ophthalmia is not necessarily inherent in Poor Law Schools:

"You rightly speak of the prevalence of ophthalmia: it was very rife and still is in many schools, but the Report enlarges on the instances of schools where severe outbreaks have occurred, and passes over most casually those schools where the evil has been grappled with. It should also be observed that most of the statistics refer to the years 1870-85, and are not up to date. The school I am associated with (Forest Gate) was no better than the others until, in the year 1889, we succeeded with great difficulty in inducing the Local Government Board to compel our medical officer to resign, and in allowing us to appoint a gentleman who does not believe that ophthalmia is a sign of pauperism and inbred.

"The following figures are interesting: they are taken from our official returns, and if there is any error, it is that, as they include the mildest cases, they overstate the number of children needing medical attention:

YEAR.	Average No. of children.	Percentage of children under medical man, including all slight ailments.	Percentage of well children attending school.	Percentage of Ophthalmic cases in infirmary.	Percentage of Ophthalmic cases in schools under observation.	Percentage of ringworm cases.
1893	644	8.4	91.6	0.80	0.30	1.9
1894	699	6.3	93.7	2.10	0.57	1.4
1895	669	Figures not ascertained by me	...	1.04	0.16	1.6

¹ Report, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, Qs. 801, 811, 1985.

³ Evidence, Qs. 1274 (note), 5486.

⁴ Evidence, Qs. 2900, 5868, 7869, 8478, 9440.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Qs. 13,450, 13,638.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 9535.

"Further, the Report states that 'Except in a few schools in which very expensive means have been employed,' the condition, if at all is little better than it was twenty years ago. Our experience at Forest Gate School is that the results above mentioned have been attained without great expense by attention to hygiene and sanitary arrangements, and chiefly by careful administration."

One of the results of ophthalmia is alleged to be that "in the schools *as conducted at present*, with the exception of Hanwell, every child loses its education directly it gets ophthalmia."¹ There is no reference to any evidence in support of this statement, and worse than that it is untrue; for the evidence shows that in addition to Hanwell, education was provided in the infirmaries (1) at the Ashford Schools² and (2) at the Sutton Schools.³ Indeed, in only one case, that of the Brentford Schools, can it be discovered that the ophthalmic children received no education. What is to be thought of a committee which could make such an unfounded general statement? Those school managers who have neglected to provide for the education of the isolated children are to be greatly blamed, but who can say that it is a necessary result of large schools that these children should lose their education?

That some children have suffered seriously from the effects of ophthalmia which they may have caught in the large schools, even to the loss of their eyesight, cannot be questioned,⁴ but we think we have shown that with proper precautions such cases are preventable. The Report of the Committee is most useful in drawing the attention of the school managers to what may happen to the children in after life if they do not see that these precautions are taken, but we should imagine that such cases are very rare among those children who have *recently* left the school. Indeed, in all the cases mentioned in the Report⁵ none of the children could have been in the schools later than 1885, and the large majority of them must have left the schools in the "seventies." But everyone knows, or should know, what a change has taken place in the management of all the large schools during the last fifteen years, and we think that very few modern cases of defective eyesight preventing the children getting employment could be adduced at the present time. The fact is that in the part of the Report we are now considering, as in many other parts, facts of ancient history are adduced as evidence of what is the state of things at the present time.

The following question and answer are most important as bearing on this point. Dr. Littlejohn is being examined:

¹ Report, p. 31.

² Evidence, Q. 13,613.

³ *Ibid.*, Qs. 4837-4840, 4847.

⁴ A striking instance was given by Dr. Stephenson (Evidence, Q. 1140), but this case requires more careful examination than was given to it. The child was born in 1868, and went to the Anerley Schools at three. Afterwards she was transferred to Banstead. At what age she left the schools is not stated, nor what happened to her between the time she left the schools and the first time of being placed out by the M. A. B. V. S. when she was twenty-one years old.

⁵ Report, p. 32.

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"Q. 455 (*Chairman*): Then I understand from you that ophthalmia entails *very frequently* serious disability in after-life?"

"A. "Excuse me, I *never* said '*very frequently*.' I think it is *very seldom*, considering the enormous number of cases we have had."

The Committee further give expression to their belief that from 15 to 20 per cent. of the children in the Metropolitan schools and workhouses are afflicted with troublesome ophthalmia. It is really a shameful thing that the schools should have to bear the burden of the Committee's "beliefs" as well as that of their inaccurate statements. And they give no reference to any evidence which warrants this particular statement of belief. Dr. Stephenson has lately made a most careful examination of 17,000 children. Of this number 13,000 were in institutions *directly* under the control of the London Guardians. It will be seen that in 1896 6·1 per cent. of these 13,000 children were suffering from troublesome ophthalmia. The following table affords a striking example of the improvement of the management of the Poor Law institutions *directly* under the control of the Guardians during the last twenty-four years:¹

	Children having discharge from the eyes.	Children having trachoma or granular lids.	Children having damaged sight.
In 1874 Mr. Nettleship inspected 8798 children, of whom there were .	per cent. 12	per cent. 42	per cent. 9·1
In 1896 Dr. Stephenson inspected 13,000 children, of whom there were	4	4·9	1·2

We have no space to criticise the recommendation of the Committee that an ophthalmic school hospital should be provided²—this will probably be carried out.³ About the other recommendations of the Committee we can only say that they are "drawn from conditions already existing in individual Poor Law Schools," in some of which ophthalmia has been entirely stamped out.

In a very able and interesting criticism of the Report,⁴ Mr. H. D. Aslett gives a Return which he had obtained of the ophthalmic condition of a certain number of schools, and which shows how possible it is to prevent the disease from attacking large schools.

¹ The figures were supplied by Dr. Downes to the Special Committee of the Metropolitan Asylums Board on Children's Asylums. Good as the results are, Dr. Downes did not consider that the minimum had yet been reached.

² Report, pages 33-36.

³ See *ante*, Chapter xiii. p. 339.

⁴ A criticism of the Report of the Poor Law Schools Committee (Knight and Co.).

Return of Ophthalmic Condition of the Schools enumerated, dated June, 1896.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Total No. in the school.	With Ophthalmia (severe).	With Ophthalmia (slight).	Drafted to the Hanwell Ophthalmic School.
Anerley	844	nil	nil	nil
Shoreditch	350	1	* 17	nil
Westminster	169	nil	nil	nil
Strand	330	nil	5	nil
St. Marylebone	308	nil	† 2	nil
St. George's-in-the-East	236	nil	nil	nil
Edmonton	400	1	nil	nil
Islington	400	nil	nil	‡ 4
Witham (S.M.S.D.)	213	nil	8	nil
Kensington and Chelsea, Banstead	700	nil	nil	nil
" " Hammersmith	120	nil	nil	nil
St. Pancras	636	nil	3	‡ 17
Forest Gate	700	nil	‡ 10	‡ 23
The Ersmouth	538	nil	nil	nil
Mitcham	477	nil	§ 12	nil
Totals	6421	2	57	44

Excluding those at Hanwell Ophthalmic School, the percentage
of affected children is 9
Including these, it works out at 16

* These include cases sent down to the schools from the parish, never having been in a Poor Law School before. They are sent down for the benefit of the country air. They are taught daily by a special teacher.

† 1 Congenital; 1 Sequence of Measles.

‡ All of these are attending school daily. The cases are so slight that none but a medical expert could detect anything amiss; called "Ophthalmia," to be on the safe side.

§ Two of these are recent admissions.

|| These cases are at the Hanwell Ophthalmic School, but whether sent from the school or sent direct from the parish—never having been at either of these schools—is not stated.

SECTION III. EDUCATION.

Chapter V. of the Report deals with "*Education.*" We have nothing to add to our criticisms in a former chapter on the way in which the Committee dealt with the evidence.¹ As to their recommendations,² it might no doubt be in some respects a good thing if the children could attend the outside public elementary schools, but the disadvantages of their so doing (it must be remembered that we are only speaking of the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools) seem to us to outweigh the advantages. The risk of introducing infection into the schools from outside would be very great. Besides which the Report by no means convinces us that the children would get any better education outside the schools than inside them. The reports of the M. A. B. Y. S. seem to us conclusive evidence that the "school" girls are as a rule better educated than the "locals,"³ i.e., than those girls of the same class who have received their education in the Board Schools. If it could be effected it would be a good thing to have the "institution" school at some distance from the main building, so

¹ See *ante*, pp. 96-104.

² Report, p. 45.

³ See *ante*, p. 361.

that the children might have the benefit of the walk backwards and forwards to it. This has been provided for at the new Cottage Homes now being built by the Chorlton Guardians at Styal.

With regard to the inspection of the education of the children being placed under the Education Department, there can be no possible objection to this change, if practicable, although we cannot admit that education of the children under the present system has in the past suffered from its being under the supervision of the Poor Law educational inspectors.¹

SECTION IV. INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

We now come to the chapter on "Industrial Training." It is divided into two parts, one dealing with the training given to the boys and the other with that given to the girls. At the very outset the Committee misrepresent the evidence of Mr. W. E. Knollys. They say, "Mr. Knollys, the Chief General Inspector of the Local Government Board, gives it as his opinion that the industrial training given to most pauper children is very unsatisfactory."² Mr. Knollys was only saying what everyone knows, that as regards the *whole country* the industrial training given to pauper children (including boarded-out children) is not satisfactory. The full question and answer shows that Mr. Knollys was thinking not so much of the industrial training given in the Metropolitan schools as of that which pauper children received generally.

"Q. 16,706. Did I understand you to say in your previous evidence that you have long been of opinion that the industrial training in most of the District and Separate Schools is very unsatisfactory? A. *I do not think I said that.* I should probably say that the industrial training given to *most* pauper children is, in my opinion, very unsatisfactory. Q. 16,707. How long have you been of that opinion? A. Ever since I have been an inspector."

It must also be remarked that Mr. Knollys does not lay much store on industrial training at all. "Personally, I do not believe very much in industrial training in these Poor Law institutions, if it is regarded from the point of view of fitting the child for some particular trade. I think that what you should aim at is simply to make the child's hand follow its eye—to make it handy—and I should myself gladly see much more time devoted to football and cricket, and much less time passed in the workshop."³ But how unfair it is to the London schools to treat Mr. Knollys' evidence in the way the Committee do on this point.

We have tried to show in another chapter⁴ what is being done in the way of industrial training, and how Guardians and school managers have been trying to improve it and make it more efficient.

¹ Thus Mr. W. E. Knollys in his evidence said: "I was not aware, and I am not aware, that the standard of education in our Poor Law Schools is below that received in the Board Schools. I know that it has been asserted that it is so." (Q. 16,200.)

² Report, p. 46.

³ Evidence, Q. 16,708.

⁴ *Ante*, pp. 86-94.

Mr. H. J. Cook, in the same letter to which we have already referred,¹ justly says "that anyone would suppose after a perusal of this chapter that boys do nothing but housework, or attend on workmen, and that girls are mere drudges to fill drying-racks and turn the handles of washing-machines. This is ancient history indeed. In the best schools a very different condition exists; boys are taught carpentering, shoemaking, tailoring, and garden work. Girls are taught needlework as few domestic servants have learnt it. They are taught to wash and iron, not by washing 1,684,600 towels etc., but by wise and experienced teachers. Practical cookery for small families is taught by certified teachers, and not by helping in the general kitchen. It is true that children do help in most of the domestic work, but if their hours are reasonable, as they should be, then I think they are the better for it."

SECTION V. HALF-TIME EMPLOYMENT.

The proposals of the Committee in the next chapter of their Report (Chapter VII.) seem to us only to make the task of securing better industrial training more difficult, for they suggest that the age of all half-timers should be raised to twelve, but that no child should be put to half-time employment until it has passed the Fourth Standard. It is in this chapter that we come across one of the most untrue statements which we find in the Report. It is not only stated of the London schools that "in *most* schools *all* the children are made to work for a portion of the day," but that "in some they" (the children) "are employed as half-timers at the tender age of eight."² As to the former statement Miss Lidgett has pointed out that "it is incredible, if we remember that children may be admitted at the age of two, unless learning to put on their clothes (say their shoes) is to be called work." We look at the reference given to the evidence (Q. 16,739) for the purpose of seeing what support it gives to the latter statement. We must begin, however, with the previous question. Mr. W. E. Knollys is being examined. "Q. 16,738. Now let me give you another school—the Holborn School at Mitcham, also a girls' school. Are you aware of the fact that there are 112 half-timers in that school? A. No.—Q. 16,739. And that the minimum age for half-time in that school is eight years, and that the numbers are: Standards V. and VI., fifteen half-timers; Standard V., eleven; Standard IV., twenty-four; Standard III., twenty; Standard II., twenty-five; Standard I., seventeen; total 112? A. No, I am not aware of that."

But Mr. Knollys inquired into the matter, and in a note which is attached to these questions³ he gives an entirely satisfactory explanation of the matter, which the Committee, however, in their desire to blacken the large schools as much as possible, quite ignore. He says: "I find on inquiry that no girls in the school under eleven, or in Standards I. and II., are allowed to do any domestic work, and that the true explanation of the numbers returned as half-timers is that a large number of the girls attended the whole of the school hours of each

¹ *Ante*, p. 373.

² Report, p. 54.

³ Evidence, p. 698.

alternate day in the reading-room, to learn needlework, under the industrial trainers, instead of having it in the schoolroom under the schoolmistress, and she returns these as half-timers. I do not say she is wrong, but the matter needs explanation. The real defect here appears to have been that an undue amount of time has been given to needlework. Article twenty-seven of the Board's Order of October 27th, 1877, provides for a reasonable time for needlework being included in the time provided for school attendance, but a reasonable time has been defined as two afternoons in each week." Thus the allegation that in *some* schools the children are employed as half-timers at the early age of eight is only founded on evidence given as to *one* school and as to *girls only*; and even in this school it is clear that the girls were not really employed as half-timers at all!

That the Committee should have allowed such an untrue statement to be made is the more remarkable in that the Report gives a list of the minimum ages at which the children are employed as half-timers in the schools. In no one school is the age less than ten (for we have shown that the minimum age is stated wrongly as regards Mitcham), whereas in most of the schools it is eleven, and in some twelve.¹

This chapter of the Report, however, is much more a condemnation of the inaction of the Local Government Board in the matter of making regulations as to "half-time" than of the Guardians and school managers.² In any case these latter authorities would, we feel sure, be quite willing to accept the recommendations made by the Committee.³

SECTION VI. APPRENTICESHIP AND EMPLOYMENT.⁴

We have little to add to what we have already said on this subject.⁵ Reforms of the apprenticeship system under the Poor Law are no doubt necessary in order to bring it into line with the present conditions of labour, but here we see how firmly the preconceived idea of the "pauper taint" was impressed on the minds of the Committee. They state that the Poor Law form of indenture, "coming ultimately into the hands of the apprentice, is not only an unpleasant reminder to himself of his pauper origin, but reveals the fact to all employers with whom he may be seeking work, and who, according to trade custom, require to see his indentures."⁶

We should ourselves be inclined to think that an employer is not much influenced by the *origin* of his workman so long as he does his work well. The idea is, of course, merely one of sentiment, and not a tittle of evidence is adduced in the Report to show that a Poor Law indenture prevents the holder of it from getting employment, if he is a good workman.

¹ Report, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. viii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶ Chap. x.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶ Report, p. 59.

SECTION VII. AFTER-CARE.¹

Our chapter on this subject will show that we entirely agree with the Committee's recommendation that voluntary agencies for looking after the children when they leave the schools should be encouraged and extended.

But even in this chapter there is a paragraph (259) which gives a very wrong impression of an answer given by Miss Poole.

The Committee say, "Miss Poole suggests that the mistresses who take these girls (*i.e.*, those from the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools) do so to a large extent 'on account of their coming with very tidy clothes.'" We turn to the reference (Q. 4071), and we find that while Miss Poole did say that the coming with tidy clothes did "a good bit" to influence the mistresses in taking them, she also added that another reason was "because they are more industrious than the local girls. The local girl's great idea is how many holidays she can have, and how long she can keep out in the streets; but the other girl does not certainly bargain so much for holidays. She is not so sharp in one way." Anyone who reads Miss Poole's evidence must be convinced that it was much more the habits of order and industry of the "school girls" than any other cause which caused mistresses to prefer them to the "local girls."

SECTION VIII. CHILDREN IN WORKHOUSES.²

Here again the Guardians cannot be blamed, because for various reasons³ children are apt to be kept for a time in the workhouse when they are above school age. We have seen how the Kensington and Chelsea Guardians have provided that no child over two years of age need be kept in the workhouse.⁴ There can to our mind be no doubt that to all Metropolitan Poor Law Schools should be attached branch schools similar to that which has been so successful at Hammersmith.

SECTION IX. "INS AND OUTS."⁵

We have already dealt with this chapter of the Report,⁶ and expressed our opinion that the successful experiment of the branch school at Hammersmith should be carried out by other school authorities.⁷

SECTION X.—FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN.⁸

Upon the best way of dealing with this class of children the experts are by no means agreed. Their evidence is very conflicting. But of course the Committee are quite confident as to the best method. This is that they should be boarded-out or placed in special training-homes.⁹

¹ Report, Chap. ix.

² *Ibid.*, Chap. x.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 323.

⁵ Report, Chap. xi.

⁶ See *ante*, Chap. xii.

⁷ The Guardians of the Gateshead-on-Tyne Union are now building a similar institution in connection with their new Cottage Homes.

⁸ Report, Chap. xii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

We really dare not venture to give any opinion on the subject, nor indeed do the Committee make any attack on the Guardians in the matter. We can only say that the balance of evidence seems to favour small special training-homes for this class. As to boarding them out, no doubt a feeble-minded child might benefit if a suitable home could be found where it would be sufficiently cared for. But the difficulty of finding such homes is, of course, very great. Dr. Warner's evidence is referred to in support of boarding-out this class of children.¹

"Dr. Warner," says the Committee, "speaks hopefully of the beneficial results that may be anticipated from placing the children in more favourable surroundings. He says: 'I find that the best thing to do with the feeble-minded is to place them in a family or place them in a small school. . . . While the child is in that family or small school she should as far as possible be treated like the others.'"

It will be observed that the compiler of this portion of the Report has left a blank in the quotation from Dr. Warner's full answer. If we fill in this blank we again find one more instance of the many *suppressiones veri* in the Report. Dr. Warner said: ?

"I am speaking of families where the lady will do what is wanted, or employ a governess to do it. I should like such a child to become a member of that family or school, and I should insist on one of the teachers who has to do with that child learning what are the special points of defect about that child, in order that I might give her some advice for carrying out her work and ascertaining what is best to be done."

In a further answer to a question, Dr. Warner again took the opportunity to explain exactly what he had in his mind when he talked of boarding-out feeble-minded children. He said: ²

"I think that boarding-out would be very good for a feeble-minded child, always provided you get a party to undertake properly that child's care and training, and that such could be paid for. I am fairly successful in the cases that come under my notice in practice; but people pay sums of £100 and £150, and if you can get them to do that you may expect success; but as a system, and to be reduced to a general practical matter, it must fail unless you select your cases, but, selecting your cases, it can do well."

What, then, could be more misleading than to quote the opinion of Dr. Warner as if he were referring to the boarding-out of *pauper* feeble-minded children?

The following witnesses among others also expressed a strong opinion against boarding-out this class of children: Miss Temple (Q. 11,247) and Miss Mason (Q. 14,409-15, 14,683).

But the Committee seem to have had "boarding-out" on the brain, and their mental vision was consequently obscured to all its defects.⁴

¹ Report, p. 80.

² Evidence, Q. 382.

³ Evidence, Q. 367.

⁴ See *post*, pp. 382-396.

SECTION XI. THE CONTROL AND CUSTODY OF CHILDREN.¹

We are in entire sympathy with the recommendations which the Committee make in regard to Guardians acquiring further powers of control over the following classes of children: (a) Neglected children who have been maintained at the cost of the rates; (b) the children of paupers of the permanent class whose character and mental deficiency may render them unfit to have the control of their offspring; (c) the children of habitual tramps and the "in and out" classes; (d) the children of parents who, living outside the workhouse, have had their children separately maintained and educated at the cost of the rates, and (e) orphan children chargeable to the rates. While we agree as to the necessity for the age of control being raised for both sexes, we are not certain that it should be raised to twenty-one years as the Committee suggest, the age of eighteen seeming to us sufficient.

There seems to be at the present time a consensus of opinion in favour of legislation in this direction, and the Committee could come to no other conclusion. After all, Guardians are *in loco parentis* to these children, and it does seem absurd that after the expense incurred in educating and training them they should have no power to protect them from vicious parents or relations by whose interference, almost always for the bad, all the money which has been expended upon them may be entirely wasted.

The affection of such persons for the children is probably measured by the amount of gain which they expect to get from them; and it is quite conceivable, and an answer to the objections raised against relieving parents of the burden of the children, that the removal from them of this source of gain would be of itself sufficiently punitive.

There is also no doubt a great deal to be said for extending the powers of boarding-out to the classes of neglected children,² although the Committee do not adopt the proposal by including it in their recommendations. We can see no reason to doubt the fact that all parents, good or bad, dislike their children being removed so far away that they cannot get at them. We have seen³ how, when Guardians advertise that children should be emigrated, parents suddenly appear from their hiding-places to reclaim them. The case might be similar when it came to the knowledge of a parent that a child was going to be boarded-out far away under a Boarding-out Committee. Of course there is the question to be considered, whether it is desirable to deliver up the child in such cases to the parent, and probably it was this consideration which deterred the Committee from making any recommendation on the point.

SECTION XII.—BOARDING-OUT.⁴

Although we have already written at length on the subject of "boarding-out,"⁵ we are driven to spend a little more time in criticising that part of the Report which deals with the subject. The Committee begin⁶ by repeating the general statement which they had previously

¹ Report, Chap. xiii.⁴ Report, Chap. xiv.² *Ibid.*, p. 87.³ Chapters vii. and viii.⁵ *Ante*, p. 266.⁶ Report, p. 89.

made,¹ that the evidence was emphatically in favour of the boarding-out of pauper children as the best system. There are no references to this evidence, but in a careful search after it we have discovered enough to show that the statement is greatly exaggerated. Thus, Miss Whitworth said that so far as her experience (which, however, she admitted not to be great) extended, "a larger proportion of the boarded-out have failed than of school girls generally," and that she had not formed an opinion adverse to the schools as compared with the boarding-out system.² Then Mr. Brandreth, the Chairman of the Banstead Cottage Home Schools, told the Committee that Kensington did not board-out any children, surely striking testimony to his preference for the Cottage Homes.³ It seems that the Shoreditch Guardians have the same preference, for according to Mr. Clay's evidence, they only boarded-out six children in 1895, while they had forty boarded-out ten years previously.⁴ Then Miss Clifford tells us that, as far as the moral career goes, the boarded-out children do no better than the children from the schools, although she thinks "that they often get a better start in a higher kind of service."⁵ Mrs. R. Henniker said,⁶ "Giving my own personal opinion, I am very much against boarding-out." "Fulham Union is opposed to it." "We object to lose sight of our orphan and deserted children, and to hand them over to irresponsible persons; we prefer to keep them where, if anything goes wrong, we have a responsible officer that we can come down upon about it; and then, again, my experience of country life is that there is extreme difficulty in finding suitable homes for the children." Again, Miss A. L. Lee was asked (Q. 10,341): "But taking boarding-out with all the disadvantages that you have mentioned, and with all the conditions of ordinary working-class life, do you think it is better or worse than the district schools?—A. I should think that Banstead is better.—Q. 10,342 You would think that Banstead is better?—A. Better and safer on the whole; for if the children there were boarded-out, a few might have more advantages, but the majority would incur greater risks." To give only one more instance on this point, Mr. J. T. Wainwright was asked (Q. 2333): "Have you come to any conclusion as to which is the best system?—A. Well, it all depends on the individuals working it. Of course, you may get a very nice foster-parent, and one cottage may do very well; but it is very difficult, I gather from those who work it, to be sure of the foster-parents. I think myself that in a properly-managed school they will do as well as under any other system."

Mr. Wainwright's answer really sums up the whole matter, and we think that we have now shown that the evidence given was by no means *emphatically* in favour of boarding-out, as the Report would give us to understand.

Then the Committee would have it understood that there is no difficulty in finding suitable homes for the children. They refer to the evidence of six witnesses in support of the belief expressed by

¹ Report, p. 9. *Ante*, p. 363.

² *Ibid.*, Q. 5905.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 10,944.

⁴ Evidence, Qs. 6827, 6859, and 6862.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Qs. 7278-7281.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Qs. 5541, 5542.

them, that *good* homes could be found for many times the number of children boarded-out beyond Unions.¹ We can, without quoting Miss Mason, refer to the evidence of at least an equal number of credible witnesses who stated exactly the contrary. Why did not the Committee refer to it? Against the evidence of Mr. Bevan, Miss Temple, Miss Brodie Hall, Miss Matthews, Miss Cargill, and Miss Walker, we can set that of Miss Baker, Mr. Howlett, Mrs. Lascelles, Miss Lee, Mr. Lockwood, and Colonel St. John.² The evidence being so equally balanced, one would have thought the Committee would not have expressed their opinion so positively on the point.

While three and a half pages of the Report are devoted to describing the advantages of boarding-out,³ we cannot find any reference to its disadvantages, or that it can be anything but the ideal system it is described to be. Therefore it will be well to dissect this section of the chapter very carefully, although we have already drawn attention to the dangers to which the system is exposed.⁴

The Committee, in showing that the children are, as a rule, treated with affection by their foster-parents, refer to a case mentioned by Mr. Clay "of a girl who had contracted dirty habits, and had been returned on this account to the Guardians. The foster-parent, however, was not happy until she got it back. After she had lost it she seemed to have found that she had grown fond of it, and she had it back, and we have not the slightest reason to doubt that it was really from good intentions." Now Mr. Clay quoted this as rather an exceptional case, for the Shoreditch Guardians had had such an unfortunate experience of boarding-out that they were obliged to give it up. Do the Committee mention this fact? Of course not. Mr. Clay said that the Guardians had found that their boarded-out children were being repeatedly sent to fresh homes. "Then, again, we had complaints of a boy." The Boarding-out Committee "could do nothing with him, and so when they found that they could do nothing with him, we had to receive him back. The same with a girl from another Committee, two or three girls indeed, who as they grew up became unattractive sort of children, and they had a difficulty in getting a home for them, so that our experience is not quite satisfactory." Now the Departmental Committee give evidence to show that "even when the children are unattractive the foster-parents *often* show a remarkable affection for them." We have italicised the word *often*, because only four witnesses are referred to in support of the statement, Mr. Clay among them. But Mr. Clay had said that when children became unattractive difficulties did arise, and he gave two striking instances where two such children, one a boy and the other a girl, had succeeded in the Hornchurch Schools, although they had failed when boarded-out.⁵

Miss Temple, Miss Brodie Hall, and Miss Mason are the other witnesses referred to on the point, but Miss Temple merely said that

¹ Report, p. 90. The number of children boarded-out beyond Unions on the 1st January, 1896, was 1833. (25 *L.G.B.*, p. lxxxviii.)

² Qs. 2424-5, 8218-9, 7085-7, 10,075-6, 10,105, 9688, 13,303-6.

³ Report, pp. 91-94. ⁴ *Ante*, Chapters vii. and viii. ⁵ Evidence, Qs. 7285-7288.

she had known *one* case where the parents had shown a great affection for an exceedingly naughty and very badly behaved child¹ (it is not stated whether the child was *good-looking*, which is sometimes an attraction even to foster-parents); and as to Miss Brodie Hall, what she said was: "I cannot speak highly enough of the affection which is shown by the foster-parents, especially when they had difficult children in extremely bad health, who, I think, in the workhouse must have died." And in the two cases mentioned by Miss Mason, and which are referred to by the Committee, she said they were *quite exceptional*.² These extracts, then, from her evidence give no support to the general statements made in the Report.

We now come to a paragraph³ which really seems to us to show what was at the bottom of the Committee's recommendation⁴ that boarding-out ought to be extended. It is the "pauper taint" fallacy. The Committee say: "When boarded-out the children become absorbed into the general life of the village in which they are placed, they lose the characteristics which inevitably attach to the institution child. Mr. McNeill, the Secretary of the Board of Supervision of Scotland, is of opinion that in Scotland the boarding-out system has had the effect of 'cutting off the entail of pauperism in many instances,' and he testifies that the children become merged in the labouring classes, and that it is only rarely that they appear as paupers when grown up. The 'pauper taint' disappears, for there is nothing in the children's surroundings to remind either them or their neighbours that they belong to the pauper class. They are clothed like the other children of the village; in many cases they assume their foster-parents' names, and they receive their education in the village school."

We have already given statistics⁵ to show that pauperism has, if anything, decreased more in England than in Scotland, and this book will have been written in vain if we have not succeeded in proving that decrease of pauperism depends entirely on *administration*, and not on the adoption of any particular method of dealing with pauper children. As for the "pauper taint" we never have believed in it, and never shall, as peculiarly attaching to children educated in Poor Law institutions. It is a term invented by the upper classes, and one of which the working classes do not understand the meaning. We have already discussed the subject in Chapter XIII.,⁶ and only mention it again here to show how seriously the Departmental Committee must have been affected by those two magical words. Let us see who are the witnesses who are referred to as supporting this *extraordinary* paragraph. They are Mr. Lockwood, Miss Brodie Hall, Mrs. Fawkes, Mr. McNeill, Miss F. Davenport Hill, Mr. Bevan, and Miss Cargill. As to the first of these names we are inclined to ask, *Que diable allait il faire dans cette galère?* On referring to his evidence we of course find that he has been placed there entirely against his will. "Q. 9727 (Mrs. Barnett). In the villages where you have seen something of the boarded-out children, do they take their stand with other village children? A. I think so." What on earth has this answer to do

¹ Evidence, Question 11,248.

² *Ibid.*, Questions 14,411-14,412.

³ Report, p. 91. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 210.

⁶ *Ante*, pp. 329-334.

with the statement of the Report. Of course the children take their stand with the others. Why should not they? But Mr. Lockwood says nothing as to their losing "the characteristics which *inevitably* (note this word) attach to the institution child."

That the majority of boarded-out children become absorbed into the population is a truism which is testified to by Miss Brodie Hall, Mrs. Fawkes, and Mr. McNeill; that "in many cases they assume their foster-parents' names" is told us by Mr. Bevan; that "they receive their education in the village school" was a piece of information solemnly imparted to the Committee by Miss F. Davenport Hill, and carefully noted down. Mr. McNeill is the sole authority—and he had Scotland in his mind—for the statements that the boarding-out system cuts "off the entail of pauperism in many instances," that the children only rarely "reappear as paupers when grown up," and that "the pauper taint disappears." But even he did not use the term "pauper taint," for it was suggested to him by Mr. Mundella. Not a single one of the witnesses mentions the *inevitable* characteristics of the institution child, nor do they say that "there is nothing in the children's surroundings to remind either them or their neighbours that they belong to the pauper class," though possibly this last sentence is a paraphrase of Miss Cargill's reply to the question, "And they are not regarded as inferior children by the children of the neighbourhood, or looked down upon as pauper children in any way? A. No, I have never found that." But of course the whole sting of the paragraph lies in the suggestion that the "pauper taint" attaches only to the "institution child." We will now refer to some evidence to the contrary, which was before the Committee, but which they ignore.

We have already shown how about fifteen per cent. of the children boarded-out by London Boards in the country are returned to the Guardians instead of becoming "absorbed into the general life of the villages in which they are placed."¹ And as to the disappearance of the "pauper taint," Mr. Crooks told the Committee that in the village of Eyke, typical of many other villages where boarding-out is the staple industry, "the advantages which the children are supposed to gain from the change of influence are in my opinion altogether nullified by worse dangers than exist even in barrack schools. I find that the children are not removed from the stain of pauperism by their surroundings. The whole village knows and promptly recognizes that the little ones are pauper children, and they are known more by the name of the Union from which they are sent than by their own individual names." He then went on to say that the children were known as "Poplars," "Holborns," "Wandsworths."² But the whole of Mr. Crooks' evidence should be read. The Committee pass over this evidence very lightly. In a later portion of the chapter, in speaking of the necessity of inspection, they say that in this case Mr. Crooks "*found* that the committee had practically lapsed, and he was led to the conclusion that as the work had fallen entirely into the hands of one person, there was a danger of boarding-out being used as a means of patronage for the benefit of the foster-parents rather than of the

¹ *Ante*, p. 214.

² Evidence, Qs. 12,415-16, also Q. 12,479.

children."¹ Now it seems to us that if Mr. Crooks' evidence proves anything, it proves that the pauper origin of boarded-out children is *not* concealed; indeed, it was the fact of Miss Mason's visit to the village which caused the committee to resign, and which led the Poplar Guardians to inquire as to their children.² Miss Mason told the Committee that "everyone in the village knew where the children came from, nearly everywhere."³ But Miss Mason is no believer in the "pauper taint," under whatever system a child may be brought up. She says, "I think there is much more talk about 'pauper taint' than reality."⁴

Miss Bramston was asked (Q. 13,463), "What is it you wish to say as to children forming part of family life? A. Well, some people say they entirely become a part of the family. They do in a way become a part of the family, but it is always known that they are not children of the family—that they are outsiders. I talked it over with the committee. 'Do not tell them they come from London.' But the children in the schools know; they say to them, 'That is not your mother,' or, 'You come from London,' and it is very well known. (Q. 13,464.) There is no objection to that? A. Oh, not the slightest, only there is a sort of sentimental idea that they become an integral part of the family, as if they had all been born and bred there."

Now the Departmental Committee themselves admit that the success of boarding-out must depend largely upon efficient inspection. But this inspection cannot be carried out properly, as we have shown in our chapter on "boarding-out," without regular and constant visiting. Of course these visits are known to every person in a village, and the children to whom such extraordinary attention is paid come to be marked. In short, admitting for the purpose of argument that such a thing as the "pauper taint" exists, it is easy to show that it attaches to all classes of pauper children in whatever form they receive relief. But we deny that it exists at all except in the imagination of those who are so fond of proclaiming it from the housetops.

The next paragraphs of the chapter we are considering⁵ point out the advantages of boarding-out (a) in its beneficial *health* results, and in the freedom of children from those diseases such as ophthalmia and ringworm "which work so much havoc in the pauper schools"; (b) in that it supplies "home ties"; (c) in the personal interest which the members of boarding-out committees take in the children; (d) in the raising of the general tone of village life, and (e) in that it is cheap.

(a) AS TO THE BENEFICIAL HEALTH RESULTS OF BOARDING-OUT.

We admit this at once, but would again remind our readers that it is only the pick of Poor Law children who are boarded-out. The Committees have, somehow or other, omitted to draw attention to the point! And yet the evidence was before them. Thus Miss Clifford told them that "boarded-out children are to some extent *selected* children; the workhouse children are a great mixture."⁶ And

¹ Report, p. 97.

² Evidence, Qs. 12,416, 14,470.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,558.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,559.

⁵ Report, pp. 92, 93.

⁶ Evidence, Q. 11,063.

even Dr. Barnardo—their favourite witness—told them that all his cases were, with the exception of a certain section of them, *selected* children, and that consequently good health results were to be expected.¹ His examination by Mrs. Barnett on the point is very amusing, because it exactly bears out what we have said in other parts of our book as to the reasons why Poor Law educational institutions do not show such good results as would be expected if they did not board-out all their best children.—“Q. 9258. You say that the flower of your flock have been boarded-out? A. In the main.—Q. 9259. So that in considering the results of your girls in the Village Home, it must be taken into consideration that the flower of them have been boarded-out? A. That is so.—Q. 9260. It is also true that you have sent the healthy ones away for boarding-out? A. Yes.—Q. 9261. So that in considering your tables of health we have also to remember that they have been taken after the most healthy ones have left? A. Yes, that is so. The results are necessarily lower, because we have taken away so many healthy girls, and the same with regard to character. We begin to prepare our records as to character at an early age. A girl may leave the village for boarding-out when she is from five to ten, and we cannot send a girl to Canada that has the least physical blemish; the consequence is that the Village Home sometimes contains only a physical residuum.—Q. 9262. That has to be considered in showing the results of your girls who have been placed out in service? A. Yes.”

Here is verily a Daniel come to judgment! Substitute “Poor Law institution” for “Village Home” in the above extract and the Guardians’ case is proved. *But we can find no reference to this very important evidence in the Report.*

We ought not then to be surprised at the freedom of boarded-out children from the diseases which are alleged to be peculiar to Poor Law institutions, viz., of ophthalmia and ringworm. But that they have not absolute immunity from these diseases was shown by several witnesses, e.g., by Miss J. H. Walker, M.D., Miss Mason, Dr. Stephenson, etc. It would, indeed, be interesting to know from what experience Miss Brodie Hall was enabled to state so positively that ophthalmia was “a disease *never* heard of in a boarded-out child.”² Miss Walker told the Committee that 2·3 per cent. of the children boarded-out by Dr. Barnardo suffered from the disease in one form or another. Dr. Stephenson had had a few cases brought to him.³ “For example,” he said, “the Guardians of the parish of Lambeth, some time, I think over a year, ago, sent me three children who had been removed from some boarding-out centre, and also had different kinds of ophthalmia; one case of trachoma.” And he added that these children “seemed not to have had any particular attention where they were.”

¹ Evidence, Qs. 9127, 9128.

² *Ibid.*, Q. 11,347. In a return of the number of children returned to the Guardians after being boarded out, Miss Brodie Hall mentions eight cases in which the causes were ‘ophthalmia or defective eyesight.’ The two statements seem to us to be slightly contradictory.

³ *Ibid.*, Qs. 1111 and 1112.

Miss Temple¹ refers to the case of a boarded-out boy who had very bad eyes. "We visited him," she said, "the year before last. He had suffered for some time from weak eyes, but this year (1895) when we went again we were shocked to find how very much worse his eyes were; so, not having visited him for a year, because we saw the difference in him from one year to the next, whereas the foster-parent and the regular visitor seeing him constantly could not see the great difference, we were able to send him to an eye hospital to have his eyes seen to, and he is getting very much better."

Miss Mason told the Committee that some children began with bad eyes *after* being boarded-out.² "I found a child this year (1895) beginning with the first symptoms of—I do not want to use technical words—but its pupil was contracted with an incipient gathering, and that child had been boarded-out some years, and when I saw it before its eyes were all right." She also referred to the case of another boarded-out child whose eyes were very bad; "they were worse each time I saw her."³ She was asked whether she had ever come across boarded-out children with anything that can be called contagious ophthalmia, and she replied, "Yes, I have. I find them with eye complaints of many kinds."⁴ When it is remembered how careful the medical officers are not to certify for boarding-out, children suffering from any eye complaint, the conclusion is inevitable that they are liable to pick up those complaints in the villages to which they are sent.

In a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*⁵ Miss Lidgett mentioned the case of a boarded-out boy who had lost the sight of one eye, which had escaped the observation of the Boarding-out Committee, and which Miss Mason found out in one of her inspections. But undoubtedly boarded-out children, being carefully selected, do not usually get these diseases, which are not common in country villages.

That the Committee were not quite satisfied on the score of boarding-out being so very superior with respect to the health of the children, is shown by the fact that they recommend "that a special hospital be provided for the treatment of acute cases of illness arising amongst boarded-out children."⁶

(b) AS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF BOARDING-OUT SUPPLYING
"HOME TIES."

We have not the least reason to doubt that in the large majority of cases foster-parents do get fond of the children, do their best for them, and offer them a home when out of place. Still Miss Mason's evidence must not be neglected. It cannot be dismissed in the off-hand way in which the Committee refer to it. They say: "Miss Mason observes that whether the foster-parents treat the children well or not, the child has a home of some kind to come back to in times of necessity,"⁷ and they refer to Q. 14,544. We turn to this reference and we find that Miss Mason was asked whether the boarding-out system provided

¹ Evidence, Q. 11,180. See also 11,299-11,301, where Miss Temple says that the child was so blind that it could hardly read without putting the book up to its eyes.

² *Ibid.*, Qs. 14,594-14,600.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,659.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,704.

⁵ February, 1896.

⁶ Report, p. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

homes for the children when they are grown-up, and whether they continued frequently to live with their foster-parents. Now note the reply.

"Yes, they do *sometimes*. But they do not continue to live there very long. The adoption of the children, as it is called, is not at all satisfactory as a rule; *when they go on living with their foster-parents, it is usually because they want to keep them on for the sake of their services.* A much better thing which you find is that whether they treat them well or not the child has a home of some kind to which to come back to between situations, *but the remaining with the foster-parents I have found generally is not satisfactory.*"

This is an instance of the way in which the Committee carefully pick their way through Miss Mason's evidence, choosing all those parts which fit in to their Report, and rejecting those which do not. As showing that the "home tie" is not always advantageous to the children, Miss Mason said that she had found cases of partiality shown by foster-parents toward their own children as contrasted with the boarded-out children.

"I know cases," she said, "where the boarded-out boys get up in the morning to light the fire, blacklead the grate, and clean the boots for the rest of the family. I know one where the boarded-out boys have to bring in the coal, and the son of the house sits doing nothing. They have to bring in the coal, bring in the wood after school hours, and they are also taken out by the foster-parents hedging, and are kept from school for the purpose."¹

The Committee further report that the evidence is *completely* reassuring on the point that the foster-parents do not receive the children merely for the sake of making a profit by them.² References are made to the evidence of three witnesses, Miss Baker, Rev. F. C. Green, and Miss Mason. The evidence of the former discloses such a flow of benevolent sentiment unrestrained by sober judgment that we are inclined to somewhat mistrust it.³ Mr. Green probably states the truth when he says that while it is the idea of profit which in the first instance causes people to adopt children, love and affection spring up afterwards in *many* cases.⁴ But Miss Mason's evidence is, as usual, much misrepresented. The Committee wrote: "Miss Mason says that in the first instance the children are undoubtedly taken for profit, but that in many instances the foster-parents become so attached to the children that they would ultimately keep them without payment rather than part with them."⁵ It must be observed that it was Mr. Green who used the words "in many instances," and not Miss Mason. She said that there were *not very many* foster-parents who took the children for the sake of doing good, *but there were some*. Then in answer to the question "What do you think is the chief motive that induces the foster-parents to take children?" she replied, "Undoubtedly they take them for profit in the first instance; *nearly all do*; afterwards *some of them* become attached to the children, and *some* become so attached to

¹ Evidence, Q. 14,550. In a country Union quite a short time ago, some boarded-out boys who ought to have been in school were found to have been allowed to play truant in order to act as beaters for a shooting party.

² Evidence, Q. 2604.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Qs. 12,682-83.

³ Report, pp. 95, 96.

⁵ Report, p. 96.

them that they would really keep them for nothing, and *some do*.¹ (Q. 14,535.) "Keep them without payment?" "Would, rather than part with them, keep them without payment—*some, but I do not say many*." Again, we ask, what are we to think of a Committee which distorts the evidence of important witnesses in such a way?

We cannot find a single reference in the Report to the cases of cruelty which come to light from time to time, nor indeed does it appear that the Committee troubled themselves to ask questions on the subject, although they printed in large type in an appendix to the Report the well-known "Gillespie" cruelties at the Brentwood Schools. However, Miss Mason was asked (Q. 14,377): "Have you found *many* cases of cruelty on the part of the foster-parents? *A. Yes, a good many*.—Q. 14,378. Now taking the whole number under your care? *A. I have told you that I could not tell you off-hand the contents of these note-books. I will never make guesses at figures, because I am quite sure that I should give an inaccurate impression. I have never given any figures anywhere as to the number of cases of ill-treatment. But if you want cases of any sort or kind, I can give them to you*.—Q. 14,379. Let us take your recent experience? *The last three months*. Have you found any case of ill-treatment *during the last three months*? *A. Yes, a good many*. I found a boy with his shoulders completely covered with bruises; and the year before I found this same boy and another in a different and a very dirty home, with a bedridden old woman and a girl about thirteen, who ill-treated them. They were then covered with bruises, they were in rags, they had scarcely any clothes. The committee moved them on my representations, and put them in another home, where I again this year found this boy covered with bruises.—Q. 14,380. *That is five cases in the last three years*? *A. I have not said they were all*.—Q. 14,381. I say you have found these five cases in the last three years? *A. I did not say five cases, and I did not say in the last three years. You asked me in the last three months*.—Q. 14,382. Two last year and two the year before? *A. I did not say so*. I will give you an instance of anything, but I will not give you numbers; I will give you another bad case, various bad cases if you like, *during the last three months*.—Q. 14,383. *No*. But I want to ask you of the 400 children that you saw during the year 1893 or 1894; did you find any that were cruelly treated in your opinion? *A. It depends on what you call cruelty. Some people say it is cruel to cane a boy in a district school, but that it is proper for foster-parents to beat and bruise children with hard sticks. If you ask me whether they beat them, I can tell you that I found a good many children severely beaten and bruised amongst those 400. I found a little boy, for instance, at the end of the year, whose toes looked as if they would come off from raw chilblains. Bad, broken chilblains, untended, and touching a dirty stocking or hard boot with nothing between, are very common among boarded-out children*.—Q. 14,384. I want a general statement from you. *A. I cannot give you figures, I cannot give you general statements; I would do so if I could, but I am sure it would be misleading. It is very seldom I go a month*

¹ Evidence, Q. 14,534.

without finding an ill-treated child, a really ill-treated child. It depends entirely upon the committee, whether they inspect thoroughly.—

Q. 14,385. You say you have seldom gone a month without finding an ill-treated child? A. Yes, I might more accurately say a fortnight."

(c) AS TO THE PERSONAL INTEREST TAKEN IN THE CHILDREN.

The fact that the members of a good Boarding-out Committee take a personal interest in the children under their care is undoubtedly a strong point in favour of boarding-out; but there is absolutely nothing to prevent philanthropic ladies from taking an equal interest in those children who are brought up in institutions. Indeed, we have shown in our chapter on "After-Care" what a good work is being done for the benefit of these latter children.

(d) AS TO RAISING THE TONE OF VILLAGE LIFE.

As to boarding-out raising the tone of village life, we require something more than the evidence of one witness¹ to convince us on the point.

(e) AS TO THE CHEAPNESS OF THE SYSTEM.

As to the cheapness of the system, we are afraid, after all is said and done, that this is its principal merit in the eyes of the representatives of the ratepayers. It *is* cheap. Some Boards of Guardians are content to pay 3s. a week to the foster-parents, and pride themselves on the fact; but if boarding-out is to be largely increased the ratepayers must be prepared to see training-homes established for the children before they go out to service or employment, and special hospitals for the treatment of acute cases of illness arising among them,² so that their "last state may not be worse than the first." They must also be prepared to find employment for the children who are fit for service.

On p. 94 of the Report the Committee repeat the assertion that a further advantage to the ratepayers in boarding-out the children "is the prospective decrease of pauperism, because the children become absorbed into the general population, and parents are deterred from deserting their children when they know that they will be boarded-out." Mr. Fuller's is the only evidence referred to in support of the statement (Qs. 5237-5252). Whether these children will become absorbed into the general population is a question entirely of numbers. Where considerable numbers of them are boarded-out in one place this absorption is absolutely out of the question.

On the second point it is, of course, quite possible that parents and relations may prefer their children being sent to the schools to their being boarded-out. But we should like to have some stronger proof to show that the fear of their children being boarded-out makes the parents less inclined to desert them.³ But whether this be so or not

¹ Report, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ Miss Lidgett is very positive that the offer to board-out children makes their parents think twice before it is accepted, whereas they do not mind their being sent

there is no evidence—not even that of Mr. Fuller—to show that boarding-out tends to decrease pauperism. On the contrary, as we have shown, it is not excepted from the general rule that outdoor relief, in whatever form it may be administered, has a tendency to increase pauperism, and boarding-out is a form of outdoor relief. Indeed, Mr. Fuller, who is a great advocate of boarding-out, told the Committee that the reduction of pauperism in the Paddington Union was owing to “more thoughtful administration and consequent reduction of outdoor relief.”¹

We wish that the Committee had taken more evidence as to the operation of boarding-out in other countries. We have shown that its effect is not to reduce pauperism in Scotland² (Mr. McNeill and Mr. Peterkin are the only two witnesses whose evidence is referred to by the Committee, and they are Scotch Poor Law Officials), and Miss F. Davenport Hill is so prone to loose statements of fact that we can attach very little importance to her evidence (and she was the only witness on this point) as to its effect in other countries. We have already given one example to show with what caution her statements must be received,³ and we will now give one other example. She was asked (Q. 3128), “Will you tell us what has been the effect in the city of Massachusetts as regards the number of children who have been thrown upon the State for maintenance since this system (boarding-out) was established? A. The numbers at first were very considerable, but they have sunk very satisfactorily.—Q. 3129. Can you give us the figures? A. It is now two or three years since my latest information, but they have been steadily going down. I have not heard of anything likely to raise them. During the first ten years, the number of children in the schools had sunk by 300. By 1887 the decrease had reached 836, those remaining in the schools being 504. There were besides 1060 dependent children, placed in families, of whom 534 had been transferred thither from schools; of these 1060 only 161 were on payment, the rest costing the State nothing but for supervision, a large part of which is gratuitous.”

Now Dr. Rhodes has stated the true facts in a paper read at the North-Western Poor Law Conference in 1896. He took the following figures from the Seventeenth Report of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts, and it will be seen that they directly conflict with Miss Hill's evidence:

Year.	At Board.	In Schools.	Total.*
1886	247	563	1695
1887	262	536	1697
1888	240	575	1717
1889	262	643	1802
1890	274	655	1975
1891	325	674	2057
1892	378	609	2284
1893	437	590	2448
1894	582	524	2565
1895	736	415	2633

* Includes those self-supporting in families.

to the schools, and that the effect may be to prevent the Guardians being imposed upon. (Report, p. 94. Evidence, Qs. 1481-2.)

¹ Evidence, Q. 5245.

² *Ante*, p. 210.

³ *Ante*, p. 367.

Thus while in 1886 810 children were being supported by the the number had risen to 1151 in 1895.¹

Nothing has been more remarkable in the Poor Law history England and Wales than the great decrease of pauperism which taken place during the last fifty years. On the 1st January, 1849, 382,720 children were receiving poor relief (24·8 per 1000 of the population), while on the 1st January, 1896, the number was 238,489 (or 7·8 per 1000 of the population). We venture to say that no country or colony in the world can show better results than this.

There is one point about boarding-out which the Committee are obliged to refer to, and that is the deficiency of industrial training for the children. In comparing the system with that of large schools on the score of *cheapness*, this fact must be borne in mind. Good industrial training can only be given in institutions,² and indeed the Committee recommend that institutions should be established for the training of boarded-out children before they are placed out in service or other employment.³

The Committee refer to the religious difficulty,⁴ and, as regards children whose creed cannot be ascertained, see no reason why the boarding-out authority should not be free to place such children with Protestant Dissenters when the homes are otherwise suitable, and indeed they recommend that this power should be given.⁵ Miss Mason told the Committee that this was sometimes done now, and that the "religious difficulty" was practically unknown to the Local Government Board.⁶ But she never said anywhere in her evidence that there should be any *legal* power given to enable the boarding-out authorities to board out those children who were classed in the Creed Register as "Church of England" with other than foster-parents belonging to the Established Church. She did, however, say that, in her opinion, the Guardians were not quite careful enough about entering the children under their creeds. "I think there would not be so much difficulty if they would take more trouble to find out what they are."⁷

Although the Committee are at very little pains to point out the special dangers of boarding-out, they do just refer to them; but they dismiss them airily by saying, "We should not recommend an extension of boarding-out if we were not perfectly satisfied that experience will result in the adoption of all needful safeguards. We are assured that on the whole the Boarding-out Committees do their duty well, and that their work is becoming year by year more efficient, with the prospect that as the work progresses a still higher state of efficiency will be attained."⁸

Surely the same might be said of Poor Law Schools, which, however, are to be done away with just when years of experience have shown how their defects may be got rid of.

¹ In a letter to the *Local Government Journal* (28th November, 1896), Dr. Rhodes tells Miss Hill that he had had the pleasure of sending to one of the colonies that she quoted particulars and plans of the new schools at Stryal, and that he hoped before long to hear of the adoption in the colony of the "cottage homes" system.

² Dr. Barnardo frankly admitted this in regard to boys. Evidence, Questions 9280-9287.

³ Report, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶ Evidence, Q. 14,730.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,737.

⁸ Report, p. 97.

And anyone reading the chapter we are criticising would, we are sure, rise from its perusal with the idea impressed upon him that all pauper children can be boarded-out. Indeed, the Committee hint at this in their recommendation, "that the restrictions as to the ages between which children may be boarded-out for the first time be removed, and the new boarding-out authority be entrusted with the responsibility of making such regulations in this and kindred matters as may be found most suitable, to encourage and not to hinder the extension of the boarding-out system."¹

We have shown that there are very good reasons indeed for the restrictions as to age.² Indeed, the Committee do not adduce any evidence to support their recommendation on this point.³ Of course the younger the children are boarded out the better. Everyone is agreed as to this, but to reduce the age below two would be most dangerous.⁴ But as to boarding-out children over ten years of age the following witnesses expressed their dissent to the proposal: Miss Lidgett,⁵ Miss Mason⁶ ("I scarcely ever find a child that has been boarded-out over or near ten either satisfactory or well treated"), Miss Clifford,⁷ Mr. Fuller,⁸ and Miss Brodie Hall.⁹ Miss Lidgett's reasons against the practice are worth quoting in full. She was asked,¹⁰ "Why do you not think it advisable to board-out later than ten?" and she replied, "If they are boys, they eat a good deal, and they grow out of their clothes. They are expensive to their parents. A foster-parent said to me, 'I wish you would send us little boys next time, because it really does not pay us. It pays us quite well when they are quite little; it does not pay us when they are bigger.' Now, if those little boys go when they are small, the foster-parents, if they are good, will put up with them when they are bigger, because they have an affection for them, but if they have to take them bigger, children they have no affection for, they will begrudge everything they do for them. With the girls I think the temptation is to make them into little servants too much. We want them to become useful; but I know at Atherstone, where I was visiting some years ago, a woman was complaining of her little girl that she was not handy at all; she was not useful. It might have been a little servant engaged for the purpose by the way the foster-mother spoke."

As to the classes of children which may be safely boarded-out, we are confident that there is overwhelming testimony that they should be healthy children, and either orphan or deserted.¹¹ There is also a large body of expert opinion which will not admit that the boarding-out system is best for boys. Thus Mr. Knollys told the Committee¹² that "boys in many respects, if the schools were reduced in size,

¹ Report, p. 101.

² *Ante*, p. 189.

³ Miss Baker was in favour of it, especially for girls. Evidence, Qs. 2434, 2437, 2715.

⁴ Evidence of Miss Bramston, Q. 13,400; of Miss Clifford, Q. 11,022-24; Mr. Fuller, however, favoured the practice, Q. 5263.

⁵ Evidence, Q. 1314.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 14,502.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Q. 11,111.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Q. 5263.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Qs. 11,341, 11,415.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Q. 1314.

¹¹ See e.g. the evidence of Mr. H. J. Cook (Q. 1525), and of Miss M. Clifford (Q. 11,070).

¹² Evidence, Q. 17,302.

would do better in schools than anywhere else. I do not apply the same to girls." But whether boys or girls be boarded-out they must be *healthy* subjects, both physically and mentally; but, unfortunately, too many of the children who come under the control of Boards of Guardians are not so. Thus the number of children who can be boarded-out will always be limited. The large majority of them must be dealt with in other ways. These facts were brought to the notice of the Committee by witnesses, but they are almost ignored in the Report. The evidence of these witnesses showed that the system of boarding-out is not good for *delicate* cases, which were continually requiring medical treatment. Thus Dr. Warner told the Committee that "it will not do for children who have any degree of defect at all."¹ The Rev. J. H. Hadden gave evidence to the same effect, and added a list of particular cases.²

Nor will Boarding-out Committees have anything to do with children who are not sound in body and mind, and return such children at once to the Guardians.³ Dr. Stephenson, who favours the boarding-out system *where it can be applied*, said emphatically that it cannot be applied to diseased children, that is to say "chronically diseased children."⁴

Nor is the system good for feeble-minded children. Dr. Barnardo seems to be the only witness who says that it does benefit this class.⁵ We have seen how Dr. Warner's evidence has been twisted and turned to make it appear that he is in favour of these children being boarded-out.⁶ Miss Temple expressed herself strongly against the practice,⁷ and so did Miss Mason.⁸

Dr. Stephenson, again, spoke most emphatically against boarding-out children suffering from ophthalmia.⁹

Boarded-out children are thus seen to be selected children, while workhouse children are a great mixture. We do not believe that the Committee emphasise this point anywhere in the Report, and yet not a single witness seems to have disputed it. It is a most important consideration when a comparison of results is made. And yet whenever the comparison has been made the percentage of failures among boarded-out children is, at least, as great as that among those children who have been brought up under other systems.¹⁰

This chapter of the Report ends with an attack on the Local Government Board, and the suggestion that the duty of settling and carrying out the arrangements for boarding-out the pauper children of the Metropolis should be transferred to the new Central Authority recommended by the majority of the Committee.¹¹ We have discussed this proposal in Chapter XIII.

¹ Evidence, Q. 353.

² *Ibid.*, Qs. 3415-3418.

³ *Ibid.*, Q. 2406.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 381.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Qs. 1106-1109.

See also evidence of Dr. Bridges, Q. 974.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 1170.

⁷ Evidence, Q. 11,247.

⁸ *Ante*, pp. 211-216.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Q. 974.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Qs. 9275-9279.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Qs. 14,409-15, 14,683.

¹² Report, pp. 97-8.

SECTION XIII. CHAPTERS XV. TO XXIV. OF THE REPORT.

Chapters XV. to XX. of the Report treat of Cottage Homes, Certified Schools, Training-Ships, Isolated Homes, and Emigration. We have nothing to add to what we have already said in criticism of the statements of the Committee in our chapters under those heads.

We have dealt with the arguments brought forward in Chapters XXI. and XXII. of the Report in favour of the establishment of a new Central Metropolitan Authority, with its own body of inspectors, in Chapter XIII.

As to the chapter on finance,¹ we have already incidentally referred to the subject, so far as we wished to do so. We believe that "results" have justified the expenditure incurred.

In the last chapter of the Report, which deals with reforms in "Miscellaneous details of administration,"² the Committee make some useful recommendations, the least debatable of which, however, are drawn from conditions already existing in Poor Law Schools. We have criticised the suggestion that the proposed Central Metropolitan Authority should appoint the superior officers in Chapter XIII. We need only draw attention here to one very striking paragraph which illustrates the fierce animus against large schools which pervades the whole Report.³ It describes in full the experience of Mr. Crooks, L.C.C., when he was a boy, thirty years ago, at the Sutton School, and would lead the ordinary reader to believe that it is a faithful description of the large schools at the present day. Of course, it is a perfect libel on them, and Mr. Crooks himself would probably be among the first to say so. Indeed, Mr. Crooks is not against "barrack" schools of a reasonable size.⁴

"It seems to me," he said, "that no school should get over its 300 boys or 300 girls, as the case may be; it is big enough for any one institution."

But he favours the school being cleared out at least once a year, and the children sent to the seaside or to the country, and said:

"Would it not give them something in life different from what they have now? You wish to put them on a par with the big public schools. They would have the home to go to in vacation time; the school would be thoroughly cleansed and done up; and it seems to me it would give them a better tone if you did that."⁵

SECTION XIV.—APPENDIX A. TO THE REPORT.

The Report concludes with a memorandum prepared by the Rt. Hon. Sir John E. Gorst, M.P., at the request of the Poor Law Schools Committee, on Papers submitted by the Local Government Board to the Committee on the following subjects: (1) The fatal fire at Forest Gate Schools in 1889; (2) the accidental poisoning of children at Forest Gate Schools in 1893; (3) the cruelties practised at Brentwood Schools, for which Gillespie was sentenced to penal servitude in 1894.⁶ The

¹ Chapter xxiii.

² Evidence, Q. 12,626.

³ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Report, p. 167.

⁶ Report, pp. 176-8.

Committee, however, do not appear to have requested any of its members to prepare a memorandum on cruelties practised on boarded-out children, which would have filled many more pages of the Report than are filled by the cases of neglect so prominently brought forward to prejudice as much as possible the "large school" system.

(1.) As to the fire at Forest Gate, the incident had already done duty in the Report,¹ the Committee, on the authority of Mr. Ernest Hart, pointing out that the fire "was partly owing to the disorganization consequent on an epidemic of ophthalmia." "If," they say in effect, "the schools had not been 'barracks' there would have been no ophthalmia, and if there had been no ophthalmia, there would not have been any fire!" The prejudice shown by the Committee against large schools was never more clearly shown than in the prominence they give to this case.

(2.) The same may also be said of the poisoning cases at these schools, but here a serious statement of a most misleading character was made by Sir John Gorst. He wrote: "No inquiry as to how the children came to be poisoned has ever been made either by the managers or the Local Government Board."² The evidence given to the Committee was before him directly to the contrary, and until attention was drawn to the point in some correspondence in the columns of *The Times* in May and June, 1896, no one knew what he meant to imply by the statement. In a letter signed "A Student of the Report and Evidence," it was shown that Dr. Downes, the Poor Law Medical Inspector for London, not only made a special inquiry into the poisoning, but that he gave a full account of it in his evidence before the Committee (Qs. 8898-8915).³

In reply, the Secretary to the Committee, Mr. H. F. Aveling, supported the accuracy of Sir John Gorst's statement.⁴ This latter letter drew forth the following correspondence, which we must insert in full here, the question being such an important one:⁵

"To the Editor of '*The Times*.'"

"SIR,—I beg to forward to you the following correspondence in reference to this matter.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"HENRY F. AVELING.

"June 4th."

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD,

"June 1st, 1896.

"DEAR MR. AVELING,—I observe that in *The Times* of May 30th, you state that my evidence corroborates Sir John Gorst's assertion that 'no inquiry as to how the children (at Forest Gate) came to be poisoned has ever been made by the Local Government Board,' and you refer to my replies to questions 8891 and 8896 in the Minutes of Evidence.

"Will you pardon my pointing out to you that you appear to have overlooked my replies to the remaining twenty-two questions put to me

¹ p. 31, par. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1896.

² Report, p. 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1896.

³ *Times*, May 28, 1896.

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on this very matter by Sir John Gorst himself? Let me quote some of them.

"'8893. Did you go down? I went down immediately I saw the announcement of the outbreak.'

"'8894. You went down officially of your own accord? Yes.'

"'8895. Without waiting for special instructions? I went down immediately and inquired into it.'

"'8898. Has that ptomaine poisoning ever been inquired into by anybody? Yes, it was inquired into by me.'

"I further narrated to Sir John Gorst (8899-8915) my method of inquiry, the conclusion to which I came and my reasons, together with an explanation of certain exceptional cases, and I also stated what action the Local Government Board had taken in the matter.

"As you are aware, I am one of the Poor Law Inspectors of the Metropolitan District; it is, therefore, neither necessary nor customary, nor would it accord with common sense, that I should wait for formal instructions to inquire into any occurrence which may seem to warrant immediate investigation, and, as stated in my evidence, I immediately, in my official capacity on behalf of the Local Government Board, inquired into the whole circumstances of the food poisoning at Forest Gate.

"I may add that I had also before me on behalf of the Local Government Board all the depositions taken at the inquest, including the report of Dr. Stephenson.

"It appears to me, therefore, that, so far from corroborating Sir John Gorst's statement, my evidence contradicts it.

"You are at liberty to make any use of this letter. I, of course, reserve the same right. "I am, yours faithfully,

"ARTHUR DOWNES, M.D.,
"Local Government Board Inspector.

"HENRY F. AVELING, ESQ.,
"Secretary to the Poor Law Schools Committee."

"289, HARROW ROAD, W.,
June 2nd, 1896.

"DEAR DR. DOWNES,—I have shown the correspondence in *The Times* and your letter of the 1st inst. to Sir John Gorst, and I have called his attention to the following paragraph in his memorandum on the 'poisoning' at the Forest Gate schools, viz.:

"'The inquiry was conducted by Mr. Hedley, the Inspector responsible for the supervision of the Forest Gate Schools. It was an inquiry into Elliott's veracity only. No inquiry as to how the children came to be poisoned has ever been made, either by the managers or the Local Government Board.'

"Sir John Gorst is of opinion that his statement is accurate, and, unless severed from the context, is incapable of being misunderstood. The inquiry to which he was referring was a public and formal inquiry of a totally different character to the investigation made by yourself.

"I am, yours faithfully,

"HENRY F. AVELING.

"DR. DOWNES, Local Government Board."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD,

"June 3rd, 1896.

"DEAR MR. AVELING,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your reply to my letter of the 1st inst., but I regret that I am unable to follow the interpretation which Sir John Gorst places on the statement made in his memorandum as to the food poisoning at Forest Gate.

"In fairness to myself I must ask you to give publicity to this correspondence.

"I am, yours faithfully,

"ARTHUR DOWNES, M.D.

"HENRY F. AVELING, Esq."

It is a pity that, in making such a serious charge, Sir John Gorst did not express himself clearly and explicitly in the first instance.

3. As to the cruelties practised at the Brentwood schools, it is most distressing that they should have escaped detection by the School Committee. But is a whole system to be condemned because of one single case of abuse of this kind? Is it to be supposed that if the Committee had been able to find any similar case in the history of Poor Law Schools they would not have enlarged upon it? Indeed, had they judged all the different systems in the same way, they must have condemned boarding-out.¹ And we are firmly convinced that there is much more chance of cases of cruelty escaping detection under the boarding-out system than under any other system.

We have now concluded our criticism of the Report. Mr. Mundella said in the House of Commons that the Committee were prepared to stand by every line of it.² Probably some of the other members of the Committee would have preferred him to speak only for himself. We have tried to show that there are not only many lines, but also many paragraphs, making statements of fact which, however true they may have been years ago, are not in the least so at the present time. The consequence is that the Report has become discredited. That this should be so is greatly to be regretted, because there is so much in it which is extremely valuable. As it is, however, a picture all dark on one side and all light on the other has been drawn. Isolated cases of abuse in the schools have been treated as typical, and evidence unfavourable to the boarding-out system and small homes has been omitted. The Committee showed an avidity to seize upon and duly honour with a marginal note certain words of witnesses who were guileless enough to believe that they were helping in a good work, not by praising the good or crying their own wares, but by finding all the faults they could in the systems which existed in order that they might be remedied.³ We so entirely agree with the concluding words of a very able letter signed by "A Guardian," which appeared in *The Times* on the 25th May, 1896, that we will adopt them as our own:

¹ *Ante*, pp. 367-369.

² *Times*, August 11, 1896.

³ See Mr. Clay's paper on the Report read at the Special Central Poor Law Conference in June, 1896 (Knight & Co.).

"No one, probably, is an advocate for very large schools. Most recognize the desirability of intermediate houses for "ins and outs" and as receiving homes. Many managers already gratefully avail themselves of the Hanwell Ophthalmic Schools, and recognize the necessity for some extension of the system. There are numerous suggestions as to the physical and moral training of the children which will meet with general approval. I venture to think that many of them emanate from existing school managers who are already endeavouring to carry them out. It is not necessary for me to defend existing school managers. I have known many of them, and I believe that a fair inquiry would show not only that they have been not unmindful of their duties, but that they have usually been willing to receive any reasonable reforms. They have doubtless had some regard for the ratepayers, though the expenditure that they have incurred shows that they have not erred on the side of economy. I tremble to think what the cost would be under the new Central Authority not responsible to ratepayers, and primed to carry out all the suggestions contained in the Report."

It is only fair to four of the members of the Committee¹ to say that they expressed their opinion in a separate memorandum,² that "a more generous recognition of the work that has been done in many of the schools was due to the managers." It is still more important that the Rev. Brooke Lambert and Mr. W. Vallance should have frankly admitted³ that the greater part of the recommendations made by the Committee were drawn from conditions already existing in individual Poor Law Schools.

The Report and its recommendations are valuable as a reminder to Guardians of their duties, powers, and responsibilities in relation to their treatment of the children entrusted to their care and control. It will be of use in putting them on their mettle, and in leading them to examine closely into the adequacy of the methods they at present employ. It is unfortunate that this desirable result could not be brought about except by a most unjust attack on one particular system which was forced upon the local authorities by the circumstances of the time, and which, beyond all question, has succeeded in training the children to earn their own living. The defects of the system have arisen either from the overcrowding of the schools, or because from various causes they have been allowed to become too large for convenient management. The Departmental Committee have not proved that these defects are beyond remedy. Indeed, in many of the schools these defects have been completely cured, as the Committee could have shown had they chosen to do so; but their Report demonstrates very clearly how far this was from their intention. The consequence has been that the public mind has been given a very wrong impression of the London Poor Law School of the present day.

¹ Mr. E. Lyulph Stanley, Rev. Brooke Lambert, Sir J. G. Fitch, and Mr. W. Vallance.

² Report, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

APPENDIX B.

I. CERTIFICATES GRANTED TO TEACHERS BY EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Regulations of the Committee of Council on Education relative to Teachers in District or Workhouse Schools.

"1. The teachers in district and workhouse schools may be admitted to examination for the certificates issued by the Education Department, at the examinations held at the training schools in December in each year:

"(i.) Who satisfy Article 47 (A) of the Code 1873:—that is, who have resided as students for one year in training schools under inspection; or,

"(ii.) Who are 21 years of age; have served with credit for at least two years in a district or workhouse school; are recommended by the Local Government Board; and hold at the date of examination certificates of efficiency, or certificates of competency of the first-class.

"2. If a student, on leaving a training college, is appointed to a situation as teacher in a workhouse or district school, his service in that school (if not less than two years) will be taken into account if he subsequently removes to a public elementary school. If he does so, their Lordships will be prepared to issue his parchment certificate on receiving a favourable report on his practical skill as a teacher from one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, after his visit to a school in which the said teacher has been employed for a period of not less than three months before the date of the inspector's visit.

"The period of a teacher's service in a workhouse or district school will also be taken into account in subsequently revising his certificate, under Article 55 of the Code.

"The teacher must then produce and deliver to Her Majesty's Inspector, for transmission to this office, certificates of good conduct and good service from the Inspector of the Local Government Board charged with the supervision of the schools in which he has been employed, and showing the dates and duration of his employment in such schools.

"These rules will also apply to female teachers.

"In the event of any teacher duly qualified according to regulation No. 1. (i. and ii.) desiring to sit for examination for a certificate at one of the examinations held in December at the several training schools, an application to that effect should be made by the teacher to the inspector of workhouse or district schools in the district, prior to the 1st of September in each year.

"By Order of the Local Government Board,

"FRAS. FLETCHER, *Assistant Secretary*.

(These regulations are required to be mounted and hung up in the school-rooms for the information of the teachers).

II. TEACHERS IN POOR LAW SCHOOLS.—PARCHMENT CERTIFICATES.

Circular Letter to Boards of Guardians and Managers of District Schools.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD,

"21st January, 1890.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Local Government Board to state that they have had under their consideration the disadvantages under which certain persons employed as teachers in poor law schools have hitherto been placed through not being able while so employed to obtain the parchment certificates of the Education Department.

"The Board have been in communication with the Committee of Council on Education on the subject, and their Lordships, with the view of assisting in removing the disadvantages referred to, have agreed to the following arrangements:—

"When a teacher in a poor law school has completed the prescribed period of probation (Article 62), and the fact is reported by the Local Government Board to

the Education Department, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors will be directed to visit the school and make the necessary report upon which a certificate can be issued.'

"Article 62 of the Code of Regulations issued by the Education Department to which reference is made in their Lordships' letter as defining 'the prescribed period of probation,' provides that 'candidates for certificates after successfully passing their examinations, must, as teachers continually engaged in the same schools, obtain two favourable reports from an inspector, with an interval of at least one year between them; and if the first of these reports be not preceded by service of at least six months since the examination, a third report at an interval of at least one year after the second report is required.'

"When therefore a teacher in a poor law school, who is in all other respects qualified to receive a certificate, has completed the term of service prescribed by that Article, and has received two or (where necessary) three favourable reports from the Board's school inspector, the Education Department will cause a visit to be paid by one of their inspectors, and if his report is favourable will then issue a certificate.

"The Board have pleasure in informing Boards of Guardians and managers of poor law schools of this arrangement, which they trust will meet the complaint which has frequently been made by poor law teachers of the disadvantages to which they were subjected by being unable to obtain parchment certificates whilst in the service of the Guardians and managers."

"I am, &c., HUGH OWEN, Secretary.

"The Clerk to the { Guardians.
Managers."

APPENDIX C.

MEMORANDUM OF CONDITIONS UPON WHICH THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD ASSENT TO THE EMIGRATION OF ORPHAN AND DESERTED PAUPER CHILDREN TO CANADA.

"The Local Government Board have been furnished with a copy of a despatch from the Governor-General of Canada, forwarding a copy of a report of a Committee of the Privy Council, from which it appears that the Minister of Agriculture will cause an inspection of pauper children brought to Canada by voluntary agencies 'to be made annually by the immigration officers of the Department of Agriculture, or such other persons as he shall instruct.' The Minister, however, requires 'as a condition of undertaking the responsibility of such inspection, and in order to enable it to be made, that all persons in the United Kingdom entrusted with the care of children from workhouses to bring to Canada shall be informed that it will be their duty to furnish to the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa a report containing the name and age of each child, and the name and address of each person with whom the child is placed.' It is also required that the name of the nearest post office, the name of the lot, the concession, and the name of the township in which the person with whom the child is placed resides shall be given as part of the address.

"With a view to give effect to this arrangement, and, as far as possible, to provide for the due care and welfare of the children, the Local Government Board must require as a condition to their sanction being given to the emigration of pauper children to Canada that the following conditions shall be observed:—

"1. The guardians shall in each case obtain an undertaking in writing from any person entrusted by them with the care of taking children to Canada, and of placing them in homes, that immediately after a child is placed out, the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa shall be furnished with a report containing the name and age of the child, and the name and the address (with the particulars stated above) of the person with whom the child is placed, and that a report containing similar information shall be furnished to the guardians of the union from which the child is taken.

"2. The guardians on receipt of such report shall cause a copy of it to be furnished to the Local Government Board.

"3. The person proposed to be entrusted by the guardians with the emigration of a child shall have notice from the guardians whether the child is a Protestant or Roman Catholic, and he shall give an undertaking if the child is a Protestant

that he shall be placed with a family of the Protestant faith, or if the child is a Roman Catholic that he shall be placed in a Roman Catholic home.

"4. A child before being sent to Canada shall have been under previous instruction for at least six months—

(a) In a workhouse or separate school under the guardians, or a district school; or at a public elementary school at the cost of the guardians; or

(b) In a school certified by the Board under the 25 & 26 Vict. cap. 43.

It will not be regarded as essential that such period of instruction shall immediately precede the emigration.

"5. The guardians shall instruct one of their medical officers personally to examine each child proposed to be sent to Canada, and to report in writing as to its health, both of body and mind, and to certify whether, in his opinion, the child is in all respects a suitable subject for emigration to that country. A copy of this report and certificate must be forwarded to the Local Government Board.

"6. The guardians must have such evidence as they deem satisfactory that the person taking out the children has a reasonable prospect of finding suitable homes for them in Canada.

"The Board consider that as a general rule girls should not be sent out above the age of 10 years, and in no case, except under very special circumstances, above the age of 12 years.

"The Board have been informed by the High Commissioner for Canada that the assisted passages hitherto granted by the Dominion Government are to be withdrawn after the 27th April, 1888.

"With a view to guide the guardians in determining what would be a reasonable amount to pay to the persons entrusted with the children for the cost of taking them from Liverpool to homes in Canada, the Board have obtained from the High Commissioner for Canada the particulars of the charges at present made by the steamship companies for passages to Quebec and Halifax, which are as follows:—

Adults	£	s.	d.
Children under twelve years of age	4	0	0
	2	0	0

"The rates vary from time to time, but the current rates can always be ascertained from the various steamship companies.

"In addition to the above rates, a kit and bedding have to be obtained by the emigrant at a cost of a few shillings.

"The railway fares, which have now in every case to be paid from Quebec to places in Ontario, in which province most of the homes for the children are situated, range from £1 to £1 15s. per adult, according to distance. Children between 5 and 12 years of age are conveyed at half fares.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, *April, 1888.*"

APPENDIX D.

OPHTHALMIA.

1. Circular Letter addressed to Boards of Guardians in the Metropolis.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, WHITEHALL,
"3rd December, 1873.

"SIR,—The attention of the Local Government Board has been drawn by their inspectors to the fact that children are frequently sent from workhouses to district or separate schools in an unsatisfactory state of health and personal cleanliness.

"It must be obvious to Boards of Guardians that, when large numbers of children are congregated together, ailments in themselves comparatively slight, may, by reason of their infectious nature, act very injuriously on the general health of the school.

"The Board are therefore of opinion that it is very important that each child before he leaves the workhouse for the school should be subjected to a very careful examination by the medical officer both as regards general health, and also, more especially, as regards the condition of the hair and scalp, of the skin, and of the eyes and eyelids. In the event of the child's health not being found to be satisfactory in

these respects, he should be retained in the infirmary of the Union or Parish until he can with safety be removed to the school.

"A medical certificate should be sent with the child, signed on the day on which he is removed to the school, or on the day immediately preceding his removal, which document should certify that the medical officer of the workhouse has carefully examined the child, that he is free from any affection of the scalp, of the skin, or of the eyes, and that he is in such a state of health as will permit of his taking part at once in the ordinary discipline and occupations of the school.

"The Board request that the Guardians will be good enough to cause a copy of this communication to be supplied to the Medical Officer of the Workhouse.

"I am, &c.,

H. FLEMING, Secretary.

"To the Clerk to the Guardians."

II. Circular Letter addressed to the Managing Bodies of District and Separate Poor Law Schools in the Metropolis.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, WHITEHALL, S.W.,

"3rd December, 1897.

"SIR,—The Local Government Board have been made aware by the Reports of their Inspectors that pauper children are frequently sent to the District and separate Schools of the Metropolis in an unhealthy and uncleanly condition, and that in this way contagious affections have been imported into the Schools, and have spread among the other children.

"The Board have addressed a communication to the several Boards of Guardians in the Metropolis upon the subject of the precautions that should be taken prior to the removal of children from the Workhouses to District or separate Schools. A copy of that communication is herewith enclosed.

"But, in addition to these precautions, it appears to the Board to be most desirable:—

"A. That a Book should be kept by the Medical Officer of the School describing the state of each child on its admission.

"B. That quarantine or probation wards should be set apart of sufficient size to accommodate children for at least a fortnight previous to their mixing with the other children. Such wards should be provided with day-rooms; and it would be desirable, either that a certain day should be selected in each fortnight on which all children should be admitted, or, in the event of this being impracticable, that at least there should be only one admission day in each week, and that in the probation wards the children admitted in the first week should be, as far as possible, kept separate from the children admitted in the second week.

"The Board direct me to add, that it is most important that the superintending nurse of the probation wards should be a person of superior qualifications, competent not merely to exercise the strictest watchfulness over the health and cleanliness of the children under her care, but also, as far as practicable, to superintend their occupations and amusements during the period of probation.

"The Board will be glad to be informed of any steps which may be taken in the direction indicated in this letter.

"I am, &c.,

"To the Clerk to the —"

"H. FLEMING, Secretary.

APPENDIX E.

REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN IN WORKHOUSES AND POOR LAW SCHOOLS, AND THE TIME DURING WHICH THEY MAY BE EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRIAL TRAINING OR MANUAL OR INDUSTRIAL WORK.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, WHITEHALL, S.W.,

"1st February, 1897.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Local Government Board to enclose two copies of an Order which they have issued prescribing Regulations with respect to the school attendance of children in Workhouses and Poor Law Schools, and the time during which they may be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work.

"The Order will not apply to children who are receiving instruction in public elementary schools.

"The Board may observe that they consider it very desirable that in the case of children who attend school half-time, the school attendance should be in the morning and the industrial training in the afternoon, when the arrangements will admit of this.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"HUGH OWEN, *Secretary*.

"The Clerk to the Guardians or Board of Management."

"GENERAL ORDER.

"To the Guardians of the Poor of the several Poor Law Unions for the time being in England and Wales ;

"To the Boards of Management of the several District Schools formed under the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844, and the Acts amending the same ;

"And to all others whom it may concern.

"Whereas by certain General and other Orders issued by the Poor Law Commissioners, the Poor Law Board, and by Us, the Local Government Board, provision has from time to time been made as regards the instruction and school attendance of children in the Workhouses and separate Workhouse Schools of Poor Law Unions in England and Wales, and in District Schools provided by Boards of Management constituted under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844, and the Acts amending the same ;

"And whereas it is expedient that further provision as hereinafter mentioned should be made in regard to the instruction and school attendance of children in Workhouses, separate Workhouse Schools, and District Schools :

"Now therefore, We the Local Government Board, in pursuance of the powers given to Us by the Statutes in that behalf, hereby order as follows :—

"ARTICLE I.—From and after the First day of March, One thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, the following Regulations shall apply to all children who are inmates for the time being of any Workhouse or any Poor Law School as defined by this Order ; and from and after the said date any provision in any of the Orders above referred to which is inconsistent with this Order shall be rescinded.

"Provided that these Regulations shall not apply to any child who is receiving instruction at a Public Elementary School.

"ARTICLE II.—Except on Sundays, Christmas-Day, and Good Friday, and during the holidays fixed by the Board of Guardians or Board of Management, as the case may be, including any day fixed as a weekly holiday, and subject as hereinafter mentioned in Article III., every child in good health between the ages of three and seven years shall receive, during the ordinary school hours, at least three hours of instruction in every day, and every child in good health between the ages of seven and fourteen years shall receive, during the ordinary school hours, at least four hours of instruction in every day ; provided—

"(1) That, if two half-days shall have been fixed as weekly half-holidays instead of one whole day as a weekly holiday, every child shall on such days receive instruction for half the time only hereinbefore prescribed by this Article.

"(2) That instruction shall be given in the case of children between the ages of three and seven years in equal periods in the morning and afternoon, or during not less than two hours in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, and in the case of children between the ages of seven and fourteen years in equal periods in the morning and afternoon, or during not less than three hours in the morning and one hour in the afternoon.

"(3) That of the time occupied in any week in the instruction in needlework which may be included in the instruction of girls, at least two-thirds shall be occupied in plain needlework, knitting, and cutting-out and making garments, and not more than one-third in mending.

"ARTICLE III.—A child over the age of eleven years, or such older age as may hereafter be fixed by law as the age at which a child may obtain partial exemption from the obligation to attend school, who shall have passed the Fourth Standard of examination under the Code of Regulations of the Education Department for the time being in force may be withdrawn from instruction during half of the time for which under Article II. such instruction is to be received ; but no

child shall be entirely withdrawn from instruction unless such child shall have attained the age of fourteen years.

"ARTICLE IV.—In every case where a child may be receiving instruction for half only of the time fixed for the ordinary school hours, the attendance of such child for the purposes of instruction shall be for not less than two consecutive hours; provided that if two half-days shall have been fixed as weekly half-holidays instead of one whole day as a weekly holiday, the attendance of the child on such days shall be for not less than one undivided hour.

"ARTICLE V.—(1) No child under the age of eleven years shall be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work for more than one hour in any day.

"(2) No child over the age of eleven years receiving instruction for the whole time required by Article II. shall be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work for more than three hours in any day.

"(3) No child who may be receiving instruction for half only of the time fixed for the ordinary school hours shall be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work for more than five hours in any day.

"(4) No child wholly withdrawn from instruction shall be employed in industrial training or manual or industrial work for more than eight hours in any day.

"ARTICLE VI.—The time in every case for attendance at classes for instruction may include an interval for recreation of not more than fifteen minutes in an attendance of three hours, and of not more than ten minutes in an attendance of a shorter period of time. An attendance of two hours or more shall include an interval for recreation of not less than ten minutes.

"ARTICLE VII.—The Board of Guardians or Board of Management shall cause the children in the Workhouse or Poor Law School to receive the religious instruction required by the Orders in force in the Poor Law Union or District, and the time occupied in such instruction shall not be included in the time occupied in instruction in pursuance of this Order.

"ARTICLE VIII.—The Board of Guardians or Board of Management, as the case may be, shall fix one day in each week as a weekly holiday, or two half-days in each week as weekly half-holidays, and may, if they think fit, cause the School to be closed for all purposes of instruction for a period not exceeding six weeks, inclusive of public holidays, in any year, or for periods not exceeding in the whole six weeks in the year, for holidays, in addition to the weekly holiday or half-holidays.

"ARTICLE IX.—The Board of Guardians or Board of Management, as the case may be, shall prepare separate time-tables for the infants, boys, and girls, in which shall be stated the division of each day of the week, except Sunday, into the hours of instruction, religious instruction, industrial training, manual or industrial work, recreation, and meals, for the children. The hours of religious instruction on Sunday, and the weekly holiday or half-holidays, shall also be entered. Each time-table shall be hung up in some conspicuous place where it will be open to the inspection of the children to which it relates.

"ARTICLE X.—Nothing in this Order shall be deemed to relieve any Board of Guardians or Board of Management or any child from any duty or liability imposed by the Elementary Education Acts, or by any byelaws made under those Acts, and in force in the School District in which the Workhouse or Poor Law School is situate.

"ARTICLE XI.—In this Order the expression "Poor Law School" includes any School belonging to a Poor Law Union which is under distinct management from that of the Workhouse, whether the school buildings are part of the Workhouse premises or, being separate from the Workhouse, are situated either within or without the limits of the Poor Law Union; or any District School belonging to a Board of Management formed under the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844, and the Acts amending the same; the expression "Instruction," except in the term "Religious Instruction," means instruction in any of the subjects for which grants may be made under the Code of Regulations of the Education Department for the time being in force except cookery, laundry-work, dairy-work, or cottage-gardening.

"Given under the Seal of Office of the Local Government Board, this Thirtieth day of January, in the year One thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

"HENRY CHAPLIN, *President*.

"HUGH OWEN, *Secretary*."

APPENDIX F.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINERS.

Circular Letter from the Poor Law Board to Boards of Guardians.

"POOR LAW BOARD, WHITEHALL, S.W.,

"12th March, 1867.

"SIR,—The Poor Law Board have taken into their consideration the question of the repayment of the salaries of Industrial Teachers in District and Workhouse Schools out of the Fund provided by Parliament for the payment of the salaries of school teachers, with the view of laying down such rules as may secure a uniform practice on the subject.

"In coming to a decision as to the proportion of the salary which should be repaid to the Guardians from the grant, the Board have borne in mind that in many cases, as in that of a baker, shoemaker, or tailor, the services of the officers are not devoted solely to the instruction of the children, but partly to that object and partly to supplying the wants of the establishment. It is also proper that a different rate of payment should be allowed when the officers are provided with board and lodging in the school or workhouse, and when they reside elsewhere and provide their own rations.

"The Board, having reference to these considerations, are of opinion that the following scale would be a simple, and at the same time a fair and proper one:

"That when the Guardians provide board and lodging two-thirds of the officer's salary should be allowed from the grant.

"When they do not provide board and lodging one-half of the salary should be so allowed.

"Thus in either case about one-half of the salary, inclusive of board and lodging, would be borne by the Guardians, and one-half be repaid to them out of the fund provided by Parliament.

"If, however, the services of the officer are given solely for the instruction of the children, as in the case of a bandmaster or drillmaster, the whole salary may properly be allowed from the Parliamentary grant.

"As regards the number of officers for whom the payments should be made, the Board are of opinion that an industrial teacher should not be allowed for less than about thirty children, unless in schools in which such a teacher is employed instead of a schoolmaster or schoolmistress. There should also be not less than six children under instruction to entitle the Guardians to a payment on account of the teacher's salary.

"The inspectors in reporting on the industrial teachers will ascertain that they do not merely employ the boys and girls in assisting them in their work, but that they give them *bona fide* instruction, and that the children exhibit a satisfactory proficiency or skill in the trade taught.

"The Board do not propose that the regulations should affect the payments for the current parochial year, except as regards new appointments. The allowances on account of the officers will be made as heretofore, according to the letters already sent out, for the year ending at Lady-day, 1867; but the Board will require the conditions now laid down to be observed in the grants allowed in subsequent years.

"I am, &c.,

"H. FLEMING, *Secretary*.

"To the Clerk to the Guardians."

APPENDIX G.

(L.) FORMS UNDER BOARDING-OUT ORDER.

(A) BOARDING-OUT FORMS USED BY THE BURTON-ON-TRENT BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

BURTON-UPON-TRENT UNION.

I.—Form of Application for a Child to be Boarded-out.

"To the Board of Guardians of the Burton-upon-Trent Union.

"GENTLEMEN,—I am desirous of receiving a Pauper Child to be Boarded-out with me, and shall be glad to negotiate with the Guardians as early as may be convenient.

I am, Gentlemen, yours obediently,

- "Date and Residence.....
 "Name and Address of the Minister of Applicant's Place of Worship, as referee,
 "Name and Address of a respectable Householder, as an additional referee,

II.—Form to be filled up by 'referees.'

BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.

"UNION OFFICES, BURTON-UPON-TRENT,.....189

"SIR,

"MR.....of.....
 being an applicant for a child to board-out, gives your name as a reference as to his fitness for such a charge. I shall be obliged therefore if you will fill in the annexed form, and return it to me at your earliest convenience. Your communication will be treated in strictest confidence.

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

"C. F. CHAMBERLIN, Clerk.

- "Is the applicant a relative of yours, and if so what?.....
 "How long have you known him?.....
 "From your knowledge of applicant and family do you think him a person to whom the well-being, morally and physically, of an orphan or deserted child may be safely intrusted?.....
 "Is your knowledge of applicant based on your own observations, or upon hearsay?.....

III.—Form of Particulars of Children to be Boarded-out.

BOARDING-OUT OF PAUPER CHILDREN.

"Particulars relating to the undermentioned Children proposed to be Boarded-out under the supervision of the.....Boarding-out Committee.

"(1) Name of Child. (2) Whether Orphan or Deserted. (3) Age. (4) Legitimate or Illegitimate. (5) When admitted to the Workhouse. (6) Religious Persuasion as entered in Creed Register. (7) Any Information with respect to the Child's Parents or Relations.

"Dated this.....day of.....189Master of the Workhouse."

IV.—Form of Agreement between a Boarding-out Committee and the Board of Guardians.

"Agreement entered into between the President and the Secretary on behalf and with the Authority of the.....Boarding-out Committee, in the County of.....(hereinafter called the 'Committee') of the one part, and the Board of Guardians of the Burton-upon-Trent Union, in the Counties of Stafford and Derby (hereinafter called 'The Guardians') of the other part."

"We, the Committee, do hereby agree with the Guardians, as follows :—

"That We will undertake to find homes and Foster Parents for.....Children to be sent to us by the Guardians, and for so many more Children as may hereafter be agreed upon between ourselves and the Guardians.

"That We will cause each of the Children placed with the said Foster Parents to be visited by at least one member of the Committee at their respective homes not less often than once in every Six weeks, and will send a Report to the Guardians of the apparent bodily condition and behaviour of each Child, and of all reasonable complaints made by or concerning the Child against or by the Foster Parents, not less often than once a Quarter.

"That at each of such visits the Visitor shall duly inspect the Clothing of the Child, and will ascertain whether the quarterly sum allowed by the Guardians for the repair and renewal of such clothing is properly expended.

"That We will make arrangements with a duly-qualified medical man for attendance upon the said Children in case of Sickness, and for the supply of the necessary medicines.

"That, in case at any time any of the said Children should die, We will cause such Child to be decently and properly buried.

"That We will truly and faithfully observe all regulations prescribed in the Boarding-out Order, 1889, or which may from time to time be prescribed by the Local Government Board with respect to the Boarding-out of Pauper Children.

"That We will, upon the demand of a person duly authorized in writing by the Guardians, give up possession of any of the said Children who may be under our custody or control.

"And We, the Committee, do hereby agree with the Guardians that we will from time to time appoint some one of our own body who shall be responsible for conducting all correspondence and other business matters between the Guardians and the Committee.

"And We the Guardians do hereby on our part undertake and agree with the Committee, as follows :—

"That, when suitable homes and Foster Parents shall have been found for the said Children, and the undertaking required by Art. VI., No. 7, of the Boarding-out Order, 1889, to be signed by the Foster Parents before receiving any Child shall, in the case of each child, have been forwarded to us by the Committee, We will provide every such Child with a proper Outfit of Clothing, and the Committee shall be authorized, in the case of every such child, to make on our behalf the following payments, namely :—

"(a) The sum of.....inserted in the said undertaking as the amount to be paid for the weekly maintenance of the said Child, and such further sum (if any) for the Schooling of the said Child as the Committee shall find necessary.

"(b) A sum not exceeding Ten Shillings per quarter for the repair and renewal of the Child's Clothing.

"(c) A sum, not exceeding One Penny per week, to be paid as a remuneration to the Schoolmaster of the School at which the Child attends, for drawing up and sending the Quarterly Report upon such Child prescribed by the Orders of the Local Government Board.

"That We will remit quarterly to the Committee the sum of money required to reimburse them all moneys expended and payments made as aforesaid in our behalf and a sum of One Penny per week for each Child, to meet other expenses incurred by the Committee in respect of the Child. Provided that where We advance a sum to the Committee under the provisions of the Orders of the Local Government Board on that behalf, the amount of such sum so advanced shall be taken into account in making the remittance aforesaid.

"That, in consideration of the Committee making suitable arrangements, as herein-before agreed, with a duly-qualified Medical man for attendance upon the said Child in case of Sickness, and for the supply of necessary medicines, We will pay to the Committee the sum of Ten Shillings per year in respect of each Child, and such further sum as shall have been by the Committee disbursed for the purpose of providing such extra nourishment for each Child in case of Sickness or Accident as shall have been ordered by the medical man aforesaid, and certified by a Member of the Committee.

"That, in consideration of the Committee undertaking that, in case any of the said Children at any time while Boarded-out as aforesaid should die, they will cause every Child so dying to be decently and properly buried. We will pay to the Committee, if the Child so dying be not more than Ten years of age, such sum not exceeding Twenty-five Shillings, and, if the Child be more than Ten years of age, such sum, not exceeding Forty Shillings, as they shall have disbursed on this behalf.

"And We the Guardians do hereby further agree with the Committee, that if any of the said Children for whom homes and Foster Parents shall have been provided, shall at any time after they have been placed with the said Foster Parents be found to be suffering from any incurable bodily disease, or from lunacy, or shall in the judgment of the Committee be incorrigible and of confirmed bad habits, We will in every such case, upon the same being duly signified to us, cause the said Child to be removed from the home wherein it may be Boarded-out as aforesaid, and to be conveyed at our own expense to the Workhouse of the said Burton-upon-Trent Union, or to a Lunatic Asylum, as the circumstances of the case may require.

"In witness whereof the President and Secretary of the Committee have hereto set their Hands, this.....day of.....18....., and the Guardians their Common Seal, this.....day of.....18.....

"Signatures of the President and Secretary of the Committee.

"The Common Seal of the Guardians was hereto affixed at a Meeting of the Board of Guardians, held on the day last aforesaid by

.....
Chairman of the Board, at the said Meeting, in the presence of

.....
Clerk to the said Guardians.



V.—Form of Particulars of the Home.

"THE BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.

"Particulars respecting the Home in which the Committee propose to place

"....., Aged Years.

"(1) Christian and Surname of Foster Parent. (2) Age. (3) Residence. (4) Married or Single. (5) Widower or Widow. (6) Religious Persuasion. (7) Occupation. (8) Wages. (9) Name of Employer. (10) If from home at night. (11) Earnings of Children or other members of the family. (12) Rent of House. (13) Number of rooms in the House. (14) Number of bedrooms. (15) Number of beds in each. (16) Number of persons sleeping in each room and bed. (17) Is the child to have a separate sleeping room? If not, what sleeping accommodation is provided? (18) How far is the house from the nearest public elementary school? (19) How far is the house from the residence of the nearest member of the Boarding-Out Committee? (20) Are any other children boarded-out in the home, and if so, how many, and what are their ages and sex? (21) Are any of the Foster Parent's own children residing in the home, and if so, how many, and what are their ages and sex? (22) Are there any adult lodgers in the house? (23) Number, names, and ages of any other persons living in the house, not mentioned above. (24) Has the Foster Parent had boarded-out children before, and if so, for how long? (25) Has the Foster Parent ever been in receipt of poor law relief? If so, when, and for how long? (26) Is there any person living in the house in receipt of poor law relief? (27) Is the Foster Parent and are all other inmates of the house sober, honest, and of otherwise good character?

"(Signed), Secretary of the above-mentioned Boarding-Out Committee.

"Dated....."

*Children under the Poor Law**VI.—Form of Reports from Visitors on Boarded-out Children.***"BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.—REPORT OF THE VISITORS.**

"Extract from the Boarding-out Order, 1889.

"Article VII.—Every Boarded-out Child shall be visited not less often than once in every six weeks by a Member of the Boarding-out Committee, at the home of the Foster Parent, and the Visitor shall thereupon make a Report in writing to the Committee, stating the apparent Bodily Condition and the Behaviour of such Child, and all reasonable Complaints made by, or concerning the Child, against or by the Foster Parent.

"The Reports shall be forwarded by the Boarding-out Committee to the Guardians not less often than Quarterly.

"If in the case of any Boarded-out Child no such Report shall be received by the Guardians for the space of Four Consecutive Months, the Guardians shall either provide for the Visiting of such Child at the Home of its Foster Parent by an Officer of the Guardians at intervals of not more than Six Weeks, until such Reports are again received by them, or shall withdraw the Child from the Home with all reasonable expedition."

"..... Boarding-out Committee.

"Report of the Visitors for the six weeks ended, 189 .

"(1) Name of Child. (2) Date of visit, and date of last previous visit. (3) What has been the state of the Child's health since the last visit? and is it now in good bodily health? (4) Did the Child seem well fed? (5) Was the Child clean? (6) Was it well clothed? (7) Has the allowance for the Child's clothing been properly expended? (8) What has been the behaviour of the Child? (9) Have any complaints been made respecting the Child by the Foster Parent? (10) Has the Child made any complaints? (11) Is it your opinion that the Child is properly cared for, and is happy at home; and is the home training of the Child good? (12) Do you think the Child has made satisfactory progress at School? (13) Are there evidences that the Child's moral and religious training are cared for by the Foster Parents? Does the Child attend regularly at Church or Chapel and Sunday School? (14) Is the sleeping accommodation for the Child quite satisfactory? Has any change been made in it since the last Report? (15) Has any change been made in the Home since the last Report?

"Names and Addresses of Foster Parents.

"At a meeting of the Boarding-out Committee, held on the day of, 189 , the foregoing Report was submitted thereto, in accordance with Article VII. of the Boarding-out Order of 1889; and it was ordered that the said Report be forwarded to the Guardians of the Poor of the Union.

"..... Signature of President or Secretary."

*VII.—Form of Schoolmaster's or Schoolmistress's Report.***"BOARDING-OUT.****BURTON-UPON-TRENT UNION.**

"Name of School..... Report for the Quarter ended.....189 .

"(1) Name of Child. (2) Age. (3) Name of Foster Parent. (4) Address of Foster Parent. (5) Number of times school open. (6) Attendances missed. (7) Standard last passed. (8) Alleged cause of absence. (9) Observations as to appearance, conduct, and progress of child.

"Dated this.....day of.....189Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress."

VIII.—Form of Medical Report.

"Medical Report as to the undermentioned Children boarded-out under the supervision of the.....Boarding-out Committee, for the quarter ended.....189 .

"(1) Name of Child. (2) Observations as to the appearance and health of the Child.

"(Signed).....
"Dated.....189 . of....."

IX.—*List of Outfits of Children.*

"List of articles constituting outfits supplied by the Guardians of the above Union to boarded-out Children and to Children on leaving the Workhouse for service:

"FOR A BOY.—Two caps, two suits of clothes and overcoat, three shirts, two night shirts, four pocket handkerchiefs, four collars, one scarf, two neckties, two pairs boots, three pairs stockings, two pairs braces, two combs, one brush, bible, prayer book.

"FOR A GIRL.—Two hats (trimmed), one jacket, one stuff dress, two print dresses, six aprons, two upper petticoats, two under petticoats, three chemises, three pairs drawers, two night gowns, four pocket handkerchiefs, three pairs stockings, one pair stays, two pairs boots, two combs, one brush, bible, prayer book.

"Box for clothes in each case, if required.

"By order of the Board of Guardians, C. F. CHAMBERLIN, *Clerk*.
"5th November, 1891."

X.—*Form of Statement of Amount.*

"The Guardians of the Burton-on-Trent Union.

"Dr. to The Boarding-out Committee at.....

"Name of Secretary..... Address.....

"Expenses incurred in respect of the undermentioned Children boarded-out under the supervision of the above-named Committee, for the quarter ending.....189 .

"(1) Name of child. (2)Weeks board and lodging at.....per week. (3) Clothing, not exceeding 10s. per quarter. (4) School Teacher's Quarterly Report, not exceeding 1d. per week. (5) Incidental expenses not exceeding 1d. per week. (6) Medical attendance. (7) Extra nourishment ordered by Medical Attendant. (8) School fees, if any. (9) Total.

"Examined and correct.....Clerk to the Guardians.

"Approved and allowed.....Chairman of Finance Committee.

"Received this.....day of189 , of the Board of Guardians of the Burton-upon-Trent Union the sum of.....Pounds.....Shillings and.....Pence, being the amount of the above account.

"(Signed).....Secretary of said Boarding-out Committee.

"N.B.—If any amount has been advanced on account of the expenditure for the quarter to which this bill relates, credit should be given on the bill for the amount so advanced."

XI.—*Form of Receipt for Quarterly Payments by the Board of Guardians.*

".....189 .

"Received of the Board of Guardians of the Burton-upon-Trent Union, the sum of.....Pounds.....Shillings and.....Pence, being a payment on account for the quarter ending.....next, in respect of Maintenance, &c., of Children boarded-out under the supervision of the.....Boarding-out Committee."

(B) FORM OF ENGAGEMENT BY MEMBERS OF A BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.

"[We, the undersigned, being desirous of being constituted a Boarding-out Committee] for the purpose of finding and superintending homes for orphan and deserted pauper children in the Parish of....., in the Union of....., in the County of....., do hereby state that we have read the regulations which are prescribed in the Orders of the Local Government Board, dated the 28th day of May, 1889, and in the event of our obtaining the requisite authority of the Local Government Board to act as a Boarding-out Committee, do hereby engage truly and faithfully to observe the same, and any other regulations which may from time to time be prescribed by the Local Government Board with respect to the Boarding-out of pauper children. And we (or I) do also hereby undertake to furnish to the Local Government Board, or to any of the Inspectors of that Board, all such reasonable information respecting pauper children who may be boarded-out under the superintendence of the Committee, as the said Board or Inspectors may from time to time require,

"And we do also engage that meetings of the Committee shall be held not less often than....." at such and such a place, on days to be fixed by members of the Committee at the first meeting in each year, the days and places of meeting to be subject to such alterations as may be agreed upon at one of the ordinary meetings of the Committee, after due notice to every member. And further, that a book shall be kept containing a record of the proceedings of each meeting, and that the minutes of the last meeting shall be read at the next succeeding meeting, and signed by the presiding Chairman, who shall be a member of the Committee other than the person appointed to act as Secretary."

Signatures in Full.	Rank, Profession, or Calling.†	Addresses.

Dated this.....day of....., 18

"N. R.—In the case of one or more proposed additions to the Committee, substitute or the words in [] the following :—'We (or I), the undersigned, being desirous of becoming { members } of the Boarding-out Committee formed,' and also omit the words in italics and the whole of the last paragraph, beginning 'And we do also engage . . . (to) . . . secretary.'"

* But at least quarterly. (See Miss Mason's evidence before the Poor Law Schools Committee, Qs. 14,245-5.)

† In the case of a proposed lady member who has no calling or profession of her own, the rank, profession, or calling of her husband should be entered in this column thus: Wife, Widow, or Daughter of.....

(C) FORM OF RETURN OF THE SECRETARY OF A BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.

"Return of the children boarded-out under the supervision of the Boarding-out Committee on the 1st day of January [or July] 18 , with the names and addresses of the Foster-Parents.

"(1) Name of child. (2) Age. (3) Name and address of Foster-Parent. (4) Union or separate Parish, to which chargeable.

"(Signed).....Secretary of the Boarding-out Committee.

"Address and Date.....

"Given under the seal of office of the Local Government Board, this twenty-eighth day of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine.

"CHAS. T. RITCHIE, *President*.

"HUGH OWEN, *Secretary*.

"Date of publication in the *London Gazette*, 28th May, 1889."

Since this Order was issued, the following form has also been issued for the returns of the members of the Committees :—

"BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE. STATEMENT SHOWING THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ABOVE COMMITTEE ON THE 1ST JANUARY (OR 1ST JULY), 18 .

"Note.—The Statement is to be sent in half-yearly. Strike out the words 1st January or 1st July as the case may be.

"NAMES."

ADDRESSES.

"(Signed).....Secretary of Committee. Date....."

* It will be convenient if the names are arranged in alphabetical order.

(D) FORM OF CERTIFICATE OF THE MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE UNION OR PARISH FROM WHICH A CHILD IS BOARDED-OUT.

"UNION [or SEPARATE PARISH].

"I, the undersigned, having this day personally examined C. D., aged years, residing at , hereby certify that he (or she) is not suffering from any contagious or infectious disease, and that his (or her) bodily health is good [with the exception that]

"(Signed)..... A medical officer of the above-named Union (or Parish).

"Dated this day of , 18 ."

* Here state the particulars of any exception.

(E) FORM OF UNDERTAKING BY FOSTER-PARENTS.**"Undertaking of Foster-Parent.**

"BOARDING-OUT of CHILD in a HOME beyond the limits of the UNION [or SEPARATE PARISH] to which such child is chargeable.

.....Union [or Separate Parish].
Boarding-out Committee.
Name of Child.
Religious Creed of Child.
Name of Foster-Parent.

"I, *A.B.*, of, do hereby engage with the Guardians of the above-named Union [or Parish], in consideration of my receiving the sum of per week, to bring up *C.D.*, aged years on the day of last, as one of my own children, and to provide h with proper food, lodging, and washing, and to endeavour to train h in habits of truthfulness, obedience, personal cleanliness, and industry, as well as in suitable domestic and outdoor work, so far as may be consistent with the law; to take care that the child shall attend duly at church [or chapel*], and shall attend school according to the provisions of the law for the time being; that I will provide for the proper repair and renewal of the child's clothing, and that, in case of the child's illness, I will forthwith report such illness to the Guardians of the above-named Union [or Parish], and to the above-named Boarding-out Committee; and that I will at all times permit the child to be visited and the house to be inspected by any member of the Boarding-out Committee, and by any person specially appointed for that purpose by the Guardians or by the Local Government Board. I do also hereby engage, upon the demand of a person duly authorised in writing by the Boarding-out Committee or by the Guardians, to give up possession of the child. †

"Dated this day of, 18

.....Signature (in full) of Foster-Parent.
Address of Foster-Parent.
Witness to the Signature of the Foster-Parent.
Address of Witness.

"N.B.—1. Communications to the Guardians to be addressed.....
 2. Communications to the Boarding-out Committee to be addressed....."

* Insert "church," "chapel," or according to the religious creed to which the child belongs.
 † Any other matter which may be agreed upon may here be added.

(F) FORM OF RECEIPT OF A CHILD BY FOSTER-PARENTS.

"I, *A.B.*, of, hereby acknowledge that I have this day received *C.D.*, aged years, from the Guardians of the poor of the above-named Union [or Parish], on the terms and conditions contained in the annexed undertaking; and that I have also received for the use of the said *C.D.* the articles of clothing set out in the list appended hereto.

"Dated this day of, 18

.....Signature and Address.....
Signature and Address of Witness.....

"LIST OF CLOTHING. Here set out the Articles in detail."

(G) FORM OF SCHOOLMASTER'S REPORT.*

"Report for the quarter ending....."

"(1) Name of child. (2) Age. (3) Name and Address of Foster-Parent. (4) Days absent from school during the quarter. (5) Alleged causes of absence. (6) Observations as to appearance, conduct, and progress of child. (7) Books and stationery supplied during the quarter. (8) School fees and cost of books and stationery.

"Signature..... Address..... Date....."

"N.B.—This report may be arranged in any other manner which may be deemed more convenient, provided that all the particulars above mentioned be included in it."

* See also form used by the Burton-on-Trent Board of Guardians, *ante*, p. 412.

(H) FORM OF RETURN BY THE CLERK TO A BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

"UNION [*or* SEPARATE PARISH]."Return of the children boarded-out in Homes beyond the limits of the Union [*or* separate Parish,] on the first day of April, [*or* October,] 18 .

"(1) Name of child. (2) Age. (3) Name of Foster-Parent. (4) Address of Foster-Parent. (5) Boarding-out Committee under whose superintendence the child is boarded-out. (6) Date of the first boarding-out.

"Date of boarding-out with present Foster-Parent, if there has been a change,
"Clerk to the Guardians. Date....."

(II.) FORMS UNDER BOARDING-OUT IN UNIONS ORDER.

(A) FORM OF REPORT OF A MEDICAL OFFICER.

"UNION [*or* SEPARATE PARISH]."I, the undersigned, having this day personally examined C.D., residing at
and alleged to be an orphan [*or* deserted] child of the age of
years, hereby certify that he is not suffering from any contagious or infectious
disease, and that his bodily health is good [with the exception that*]"(Signed) Medical Officer of the Union
[*or* Parish of]

"Dated this day of 18 ."

* Here state the particulars of any exceptions.

(B) FORM OF UNDERTAKING OF A FOSTER-PARENT.

"Undertaking of Foster-Parent.

"BOARDING of CHILD in a HOME within the limits of the UNION [*or* SEPARATE PARISH] to which such Child is chargeable......Union [*or* Separate Parish].
[.....Boarding-out Committee].
.....Name of Child.
.....Religious Creed of Child.
.....Name of Foster-Parent.

"I, A.B., of , do hereby engage with the Guardians of the above-named Union [*or* Parish], in consideration of my receiving the sum of per week, to bring up C.D., aged years on the day of last, as one of my own children, to provide him with proper food, lodging, and washing, and to endeavour to train him in habits of truthfulness, obedience, personal cleanliness, and industry, as well as in suitable domestic and out-door work, so far as may be consistent with the law; and to take care that the child shall attend duly at church [*or* chapel],† and shall attend school according to the provisions of the law for the time being; that I will provide for the proper repair and renewal of the child's clothing; and that, in the case of the child's illness, I will forthwith report such illness to the [above-named Boarding-out Committee and also to the]* Relieving Officer in whose District I reside, or to the Guardians of the above-named Union [*or* Parish]; that I will at all times permit the child to be visited and the house to be inspected by [any member of the Boarding-out Committee, by]* the Relieving Officer or the Medical Officer of the District, and by any Guardian or other person specially appointed for that purpose by the Guardians or by the Local Government Board; and that I will produce the child for examination by the Guardians when required by them to do so. I do also hereby engage, upon the demand of a person duly authorised in writing by the [Boarding-out Committee or by the]* Guardians to give up possession of the child. ‡

"Dated this day of 18 .

"(1) Signature in full of Foster-Parent. (2) Address of Foster-Parent. (3) Witness to the signature of the Foster-Parent. (4) Address of Witness.

"N.B.—Communications to the Guardians to be addressed.....

"[Communications to the Boarding-out Committee to be addressed.....]"

* The references in this Form to a Boarding-out Committee are to be retained only where the child is boarded under the superintendence of a Committee. See Article IX. 3.

† Insert "church" or "chapel" according to the religious creed to which the child belongs.

‡ Any other matter which may be agreed upon may here be added.

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(C) FORM OF SCHOOLMASTER'S REPORT.

"SCHOOL.

Report for the Quarter ending.....

"(1) Name of Child. (2) Age. (3) Name and Address of Foster-Parent. (4) Days absent from school during the Quarter. (5) Alleged causes of Absence. (6) Observations as to Appearance, Conduct, and Progress of Child. (7) Books and Stationery supplied during the Quarter. (8) School Fees and Cost of Books and Stationery.

"Signature..... Address..... Date.....

"N.B.—This report may be arranged in any other manner which may be deemed more convenient, provided that all the particulars above-mentioned be included in it."

(D) FORM OF REPORT OF A RELIEVING OFFICER.

Relieving Officer's Report on Children Boarded with Foster-Parents.

ending , 18 . UNION [or SEPARATE PARISH].

"Name of Child Age Name and Address of Foster-Parent
Date when Child was last seen by me Does the Child appear to be in good health? Is it properly fed, lodged, and clothed? Are the sleeping arrangements, as regards the separation of the sexes and otherwise, proper and sufficient? Is the behaviour of the Child good? What is the domestic and out-door work in which it is employed, and is its general training properly attended to? Does the Child duly attend Church or Chapel? Does it attend School regularly? Are any complaints made by or concerning the Child, against the Foster-Parent? Are any complaints made by or concerning the Foster-Parent, against the Child? General observations

"Signed.....Relieving Officer of the Union [or Parish]."

(E) FORM OF REPORT OF A MEDICAL OFFICER'S VISITS.

Medical Officer's Report of Visits made to the Homes of Foster-Parents with whom Children are Boarded.

Quarter ending , 18 . UNION [or PARISH of]

"(1) Date of Visit. (2) Name of Child. (3) Age. (4) Name and Address of Foster-Parent. (5) Date of last preceding Visit. (6) Observations as to the Appearance and Health of the Child, the State of the House, and other Remarks.

"(Signed).....Medical Officer of the District."

The other Forms used under this Order are similar in terms to those used under the Boarding-out Order.

(III.) RULES OF THE BRISTOL AND CLIFTON BOARDING-OUT SOCIETY,

With Preface, and a Note on "After-care."

"In the present great extension of the Boarding-out System, the following suggestions for the guidance of Committees may be found useful.

"THE CHOICE OF A HOME.

"It should be remembered that homes are wanted in which children can grow up and become part of the family. Special attention, therefore, must be paid to the following points:

"1. The moral character of both foster-parents. This must be known to be good. In addition to the necessary enquiries a little conversation may show their ideas on many essential points.

"2. The sleeping accommodation proposed for the children. It must be borne in mind that this is for the future as well as the present. Married people with boys and girls should always have three bedrooms.

"3. The income of the family. This must be quite sufficient for their maintenance without the children's payments.

"4. The age and health of the foster-parents. (a) They should be vigorous enough not only for the present care, but likely to be so as long as the child remains young. (b) Young couples with increasing families are not, as a rule, good foster-

parents, as the boarded-out children often under such circumstances become nurses or drudges. (c) Boys should not be placed with widows or single women—they usually grow out of the control of women.

"5. Country homes are, as a rule, to be preferred.

"Committees should bear in mind the following regulations of the Local Government Board:

"Article VI.—No. 3. 'Not more than two children shall be boarded-out by the Guardians in the same house at the same time, unless all such children are brothers and sisters, and do not exceed four in number; not more than one child shall be boarded-out by the Guardians in a house in which any child is boarded-out by persons other than the Guardians, nor shall any child be boarded-out in a house in which there is more than one such child, and no child shall be placed in a house in which, at the time when the child would first be placed in it, there would be with such child more than five children present.'

"No. 4. 'No child shall be boarded-out with any person who is at the time, or who has been within twelve months preceding, in receipt of relief; and if the foster-parent shall at any time become in receipt of relief, the child shall be withdrawn from him.'

"No. 5. 'In no case shall a child be boarded-out with a foster-parent of a religious creed different from that to which the child belongs.'

"The Local Government Board also recommends that:

"Especial attention should be paid to decent accommodation, and the proper separation of the sexes in the sleeping-rooms. Children over seven years of age should never be allowed to sleep in the same room with married couples.

"No child should be boarded-out in a house where sleeping accommodation is afforded to an adult lodger. (This rule is often evaded after the child has been some time in a home.)

"Particular attention should be paid to the Schoolmaster's report; and if after two warnings to the foster-parents the reports continue unfavourable, the child should be withdrawn.

"RULES OF THE BRISTOL AND CLIFTON BOARDING-OUT SOCIETY.

"1. A member of the Committee should visit each home once a month at varying intervals, and by surprise, keeping a record of the dates of her visits, and taking special notice of the following particulars:

"(a) *The health of the children.*

"(b) *The food supplied to them.* This is best ascertained by occasionally calling at meal times. The appearance of the children will indicate whether the food is right in quantity and kind.

"(c) *Clothing.* This should be examined and thoroughly gone over half-yearly. The visitor should observe what underclothing the child is wearing at the time.

"The following is the list of clothing for boys and girls when they are first boarded-out from the Barton Regis Workhouse; that from the Bristol Workhouse is very similar. Foster-parents are expected to keep up the clothing from the allowance made by the Guardians.

"BOYS.—Two caps, two suits of clothes, three shirts, three pairs of stockings, two pairs of boots, two collars, three pocket handkerchiefs, one pair braces, one small tooth comb, one brush and comb, one bible and prayer book, one clothes box, one waterproof coat.

"GIRLS.—Two hats, three pinafores, three frocks, three shifts, three pocket handkerchiefs, three pairs of stockings, two skirts, two flannel petticoats, two pairs of boots, two nightgowns, two pairs of drawers, one jacket, one small tooth comb, one brush and comb, one bible and prayer book, one clothes box, one waterproof.

"It is desirable that soon after the arrival of a child in its home the visitor should, with the foster-mother, go over the outfit sent from the Workhouse with the child, and impress upon her the need for keeping up the stock of clothing, as should she for any reason give up the child, or it be removed from her, it must take away with it the same number of articles of clothing in good repair as were sent to her.

"(d) *Cleanliness.* Visitors should not content themselves with the outside appearance, but should, at least once a quarter, remove a shoe and stocking, and

look at the neck just below the dress or coat, and the arms. Not only has cleanliness to be considered, but general treatment. If children are ill-used, bruises, or marks of blows, are generally found on the upper part of the arms.

"(e) *Sleeping arrangements.* Care must be taken that changes are not made in the sleeping accommodation promised. The whole house should be seen half-yearly. It is impossible to tell whether the boarded-out child really sleeps where stated without seeing the other rooms, and ascertaining who and how many are the other inmates of the house. The bedding thus ascertained to be that of the boarded-out child should also be examined at this half-yearly visit.

"No foster-parents who are doing their duty will resent such inspection, which can only prove their trustworthiness. It should be clearly understood that these inspections are not made on suspicion, but because the visitors are bound to report to the Committee from their own knowledge at first hand. All foster-parents must be treated alike. If exceptions are made, and thorough inspection only carried out in suspected cases, offence will be given.

"(f) *Temperance.* The importance of training in habits of temperance should be pressed on the foster-parents, and on no account should a child ever be sent to a public-house for beer or any other reason.

"Care must be taken that these prescribed conditions continue to be observed, and the visitor must not relax her vigilance.

"2. The visitor should go to the school once a quarter, and ascertain from the master all particulars relating to the attendance and proficiency of the children, their general appearance as to health, cleanliness, tidiness, and treatment. Much information can be thus obtained respecting the character both of the children and their homes.

"3. Each child shall be under the special supervision of one or more members nominated by the Committee.

"4. The visitor must fill up the quarterly reports sent by the Secretary.

"5. If the foster-parents have any complaints to make these must be stated to the visitor, and in the case of the removal of the child being desired by them, or in her opinion expedient, she shall at once communicate with the Secretary. In no case must a child be returned to the Union without the knowledge of the Secretary.

"6. Should any serious illness occur, the visitor shall at once inform the Secretary.

"7. In case of absence from home, or illness, the visitor shall appoint another member of the Committee as her substitute, and in the event of her absence exceeding a month, notify the same to the Secretary.

"8. Visitors are expected to attend the Committee once a quarter.

"9. An annual subscription of 2/6 constitutes membership. Three members shall form a quorum.

"The Committee meetings are held on the second Monday in every month except August.

"AFTER-CARE OF THE CHILDREN.

"The visitor should endeavour to be considered as a friend by both parents and children; if she succeeds in doing so her task becomes an easy one, her suggestions taken in good part, and the parents will respect her for doing her duty. When the time comes for the children to go to service she should interest herself in the matter, helping to find a suitable situation, seeing that the outfit money is properly laid out, and encouraging the children to correspond with her, etc. It would be well if all boarded-out girls joined the G. F. S.

"It is very frequently found that on being first boarded-out the children are inclined to pilfer. If a few half-pence were given to them occasionally, as a reward for good conduct, they might not be so inclined. In the Workhouse Schools they have little temptation to dishonesty, but when they come out and see shops, &c., the desire to buy sweets or other things comes on them, and if they have nothing they are tempted to steal.

"Ten shillings is awarded to those children who remain a year in their first place of service.

"CATHERINE TEMPLE,

"Hon. Sec. Boarding-out Committee.

"19, CANYNGE SQUARE, CLIFTON, BRISTOL."

APPENDIX H. HOMES FOR FEEBLE-MINDED GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN.

NAME OF HOME.	Date of Opening.	Certified or Approved.	Number of Beds.	Rate per Week of Board. Payment required.	Girls discharged as fit for Service.	SPECIAL CLASS OF FEEBLE-MINDED RECEIVED.
AUBERT PARK HOME, Hom. Sec.—Mrs. TAIT, 44, Highbury Park, N.	1887.	Certified.	18	7/- from Guardians, others varied.	A few each year.	Young girls not subject to fits, and not unlikely to improve.
ST. MARY'S HOME, PAINEWICK, Hom. Sec.—Miss WENTY.	November, 1890.	Approved.	18	3/- to 6/-	8	Respectable girls and women who are feeble in mind or body, but not imbecile or idiotic, over 13 years of age.
LAUREY & HOMES OF INDUSTRY (5), Birmingham, Hom. Sec.—Miss TRACEY, 30, Calthorpe Road.	May, 1892.	Approved.	39	5/- and 6/-	1	HOME No. 1.—Pure-minded and innocent young women. Over 16 years of age preferred. HOME No. 2.—Young women who have had a first fall. Both permanent Homes.
SCOTT HOUSE, HITCHIN, Servicery—Miss POOLE, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand.	July, 1892.	Certified.	20	5/- and 6/-	20	Young girls from 10 years of age from Metropolitan Poor Law Schools and others, who are likely to improve with prolonged training.
ABCOYS, KNOTTY ASH, LIVERPOOL, Hom. Sec.—Mrs. WYATT.	November, 1892.	Approved.	16	£10 per annum.	7	Girls from 14 to 18 years of age who have sufficient brain power to be trained for service. No fallen girls taken.
CHASEFIELD FARMHOLD, BRISTOL, Hom. Sec.—Miss LAVINGTON, 127, Pembroke Road, Clifton.	August, 1893.	Approved.	22	5/- to 7/-	None.	Destitute girls of good character.
OSUD HOUSE, MORPETH, Hom. Sec.—Miss ORDE, At Home.	August, 1894.	Certified.	18	6/- to 7/-	None.	Young girls from 10 years of age from Workhouses and others, who are likely to improve with training. They must be strong, able to work, and not subject to fits.
MARY CARPENTER HOME, Hom. Sec.—At Home.	March, 1897.	Approved.	15	5/- to 7/- according to capacity for work.	None.	Girls from 11 years of age. No morally-contaminated girls received. The few imbeciles preferred.
SPRINGFIELD HOME, HALIFAX, Hom. Sec.—Mrs. BROOKS, The Vicarage, Halifax.	1897.	Certified.	15	5/-	—	
ALEXANDER HOME, Shepherd's Bush, Servicery—Miss PAUL, 57, Percy Street, London, W.	March, 1897.	Certified.	22	7/-	—	For London girls only, of good moral character, and improvable.
ST. ELIZABETH'S HOME, Convent of Mercy, Tus Separation, Convent of Mercy, Altham.	Founded at Brighton in 1872. Removed to Altham in June, 1888.	Certified in 1894.	24	6/-	—	Only improvable feeble-minded cases received, the Home being certified as a "Young Servants' Training Home."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING THE WELFARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED. Sec.—Miss PAUL, 57, Percy Street, W. Treas.—T. HOLMES, 1 C.S.

APPENDIX I.

OUTFITS FOR CHILDREN SENT TO SERVICE.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, WHITEHALL, S. W.

"14th July, 1897.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Local Government Board to transmit to you the enclosed copies of an Order which they have issued, providing that the Guardians of any Poor Law Union may, when they deem it expedient, incur a reasonable expenditure in providing an outfit for any child chargeable to the Union, on such child being sent to service by the Guardians; or, if the child is boarded or boarded-out under the supervision of a duly authorized Boarding-out Committee, on such child being sent to service by the Guardians or otherwise.

"Under certain of the Orders regulating the administration of out-relief it has been necessary that the Board's sanction should be obtained in order that expenditure might be legally incurred in providing outfits for children sent to service, except where, in the case of any child sent from the Workhouse, the outfit was supplied from the Workhouse stores. The present Order removes any necessity for such sanction, and confers on the Guardians full discretion as to incurring such expenditure, subject of course to the amount expended being reasonable in the circumstances of the particular case.

"The Board may state that it has been their practice, in cases where their sanction has been required, to object to a child being sent to service without money wages, or to an inn or public-house (unless in exceptional circumstances), or to any place of service, the conditions of which seemed unsatisfactory; and they have required to be satisfied that the child has attained the standard or made the attendances qualifying for employment under the Education Acts, or the bye-laws in force in the particular school district.

"The Board do not doubt that the Guardians will satisfy themselves in each individual case before sending a child to service, that the Home and conditions of service will be satisfactory, and that the child is properly qualified for employment.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"The Clerk to the Guardians."

"HUGH OWEN, Secretary.

GENERAL ORDER.

"To the Guardians of the Poor of the several Poor Law Unions for the time being in England and Wales, and to all others whom it may concern :

"Whereas by certain General and other Orders, addressed by the Poor Law Commissioners, the Poor Law Board, and by us, the Local Government Board respectively, to the Boards of Guardians of Poor Law Unions in England and Wales, provision is made with respect to the grant of relief to paupers chargeable to any of the said Unions, and with respect to the boarding or boarding-out of pauper children ;

"And whereas it is expedient to make further provision as hereinafter mentioned with respect to the relief which may be given to children who have been boarded or boarded-out by a Board of Guardians, or are otherwise chargeable to a Poor Law Union on their going to service :

"Now, therefore, in pursuance of the powers given to us by the Statutes in that behalf, we hereby Order that, from and after the date hereof, the following provisions shall have effect, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any of the aforesaid Orders ; that is to say—

"The Guardians of any Poor Law Union may, when they deem it expedient, incur a reasonable expenditure in providing an outfit for any child chargeable to such Union, on such child being sent to service by the Guardians, or, if the child is boarded or boarded-out under the supervision of a Boarding-out Committee in accordance with the Regulations from time to time applicable to the boarding or boarding-out of pauper children, on such child being sent to service by the Guardians or otherwise.

"Given under the Seal of Office of the Local Government Board, this Tenth day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

"HENRY CHAPLIN, President.

"HUGH OWEN, Secretary."

APPENDIX K.

FORMS USED BY THE METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION FOR
BEFRIENDING YOUNG SERVANTS*Referred to ante, p. 297.*

(a) "METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION FOR BEFRIENDING YOUNG SERVANTS.

"OFFICE: 18, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

.....UnionSchool.189...

"(1) Name of Girl placed out. (2) Age when placed out, and Month of Birth. (3) Length of time in School. (4) Character in School. (5) Date of leaving the School. (6) Is this the first Situation? (7) Has this Girl any physical defect or peculiarity? (8) Is she an Orphan, or deserted? (9) Address of relations. Where placed, and nearest railway station or omnibus route.

(b) PROPOSAL TO TAKE A GIRL INTO SERVICE FROM THE.....

"(1) Name of the proposed Master or Mistress. (2) Residence. (3). Occupation. (4) Whether a Householder. (5) Number of persons in the family. (6) Nature of the duties required of the girl. (7) Are there any other Servants kept? If so, how many? (8) Proposed wages and what increase (the wages must not be less than £5 for the first year). (9) Particulars and description of the sleeping accommodation provided for the girl. (10) Will she be allowed to attend Divine worship? and when? (11) When is she required to enter on her duties? (12) Name and age of the Girl selected.

(a) The first outfit will be provided by the Guardians. It is for the Girl's use only, and is to be regarded as a loan to her from the Guardians. *If the girl leaves her first place within six months she must not, without the consent of the Guardians, be allowed to take with her more than the clothes she is actually wearing, the box containing the rest of the outfit must be returned to the*

(b) Each girl placed out from the Schools will, while remaining in service, be visited by a Member or Agent of the 'Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants.' The Guardians will be glad if the Mistress will meet the visitor in a friendly spirit, encourage her visits to the Girl, and apply to her in any case of difficulty. (c) In the event of the Girl not suiting, or immediately upon any necessity arising for her leaving her situation, notice of the same must be sent to the Lady visiting on behalf of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, or to the Secretary at their Central Office, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand. The Mistress is earnestly requested not to permit the Girl to quit her service until such notice has been sent. (d) It must not be expected that Girls entering service from these Schools are fully qualified domestic servants. They have not been in service before, and have had but limited experience in household work. They require training, patience, and consideration on the part of Mistresses and others under whom they may be placed.

"I agree (in the event of the above-named Girl entering my service) to permit the visits of a Member or Agent of the 'Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants,' and to fulfil all the other conditions set forth above.

"Dated the.....of.....189 .

"Signature of the proposed Master or Mistress....."

REPORT OF THE VISITING OFFICER WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSAL.

"I have this day visited the proposed Mistress at the Address stated on the other side of this paper, and have inspected the sleeping accommodation provided for the Girl. With reference to this proposal I beg to report that

"Dated the.....day of.....189Visiting Officer.*

LIST OF OUTFIT TO BE PROVIDED FOR THE GIRL.

"One hair brush and two combs, three caps, three collars, three pairs drawers, three chemises, three night dresses, one pair boots and three pairs hose, one pair slippers, two cotton dresses, two stuff dresses, four linen aprons, four muslin aprons, two flannel petticoats, one top skirt, one jacket, two hats, one pair stays, Bible and prayer book, six handkerchiefs, one umbrella, one tin box."

* This report is now made by the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants for the Forest Gate School Managers, and for Holborn and Stepney, and in the cases of the other schools by the Relieving Officers or Matrons or by the deputies of the Matrons.

APPENDIX L.

FOURTH ANNUAL MEMORANDUM ON THE BOYS SENT OUT
FROM THE SOUTH METROPOLITAN DISTRICT SCHOOLS
(SUTTON AND WITHAM.)*From September, 1892, to December, 1896.*

"In presenting the Fourth Annual Statement I wish to point out that no name has been removed from the list since the work was undertaken. This fact has to be taken into consideration in looking at the table given below. The names are kept on the list even though the boys remain untraced, because there is always a hope, from the friendship that exists between the boys, that we shall hear of them. When the boys reach the age of 21 their names will be removed.

"Bearing this fact in mind, it is pleasant to be able to report that over 60 per cent. are excellent—296 boys out of 452 are really good, remaining in their situations, giving satisfaction to their employers. A large number of these are now able to provide for themselves. Of 20 more we can report that they keep their situations, but they are not in character equal to the 296. Further, there are 56 who are gone to relations, and are keeping their places, doing well, and fairly earning the verdict satisfactory. Of the 2nd Class marked doubtful—50 are gone to relations. These relations have moved from the address given when the boys were at the School. The boys have left the situations in which they were placed by the Guardians, and have gone to join them. All trace is for the time lost. Six are not traced because the master to whom they were sent removed before a visit was paid. Six having left towards the end of December, 1896, have not yet been reported on. Thirteen are unsatisfactory. Of these, four are in the Workhouse. The first case is not hopeless—the boy is a good boy—he went into the Infirmary of the country town where he was placed owing to a poisoned hand, and was thence sent to the Workhouse, having no situation to go to. I am in correspondence with the Guardians, and hope to get him out. Two were sent to the Workhouse for bad conduct. Of the 4th the Visitor reports 'I am trying to keep X out of the Workhouse, but I do not know with what success,' so he is classed as a workhouse case. Of the remaining nine—

Absconded from their situations	7
Was dishonest	1
Was dismissed from the Boys' Home as saucy and insolent	1
	—
	9

"Two cases are in the Infirmary—one of these lads is epileptic, the other an ophthalmic case—both are of good character.

"Three have died in the 4½ years, one from the result of a cart accident. This mortality does not show an alarming condition of ill-health amongst the boys from a District School.

"As regards the general character of the boys, two extracts from the managers of Boys' Homes who are conversant with the general class may be given:—

"1. Mr. Scriven, Boys' Home, Walworth Road, speaks very highly of our boys, and concludes thus:—'I am glad to be able to give so good a report of these boys. A master printer who had seen the Sutton boys at work, applied to me for "*half-a-dozen like them*." This is in itself a good testimony that the boys are making good use of their opportunities.'

"2. Mr. Cousens, of the Boys' Home, Fournier Street, says, 'As a whole the lads from your Institution are well educated, and do better than boys from most Institutions of the same kind.'

"A visitor writes: 'Mr. — never had any one of his age before who could do the work he does.'

"The following sympathetic letter from a master speaks for itself. It was received by the late head master, Mr. Eyre:—

"My dear Sir,—I am so much obliged for your note of 29th April, re ——. The youngster has received his bank-book, and is now saving up his money, and in time will turn out (let us all hope) a specialist in electric lighting. I am sure you will be pleased to know that he is a very industrious lad, and very *honest*, and we shall try to make him a useful member of society. He speaks very highly of you at the school, for which I am very pleased. Ratepayers do grumble, but your lads are evidently well cared for. I shall take an early opportunity of sending the boy down to see you. He is growing away very nicely, but we can't shake his nervousness out of him. However, time will do this.

"Believe me, yours faithfully,
"————"

"The boys in the Army seem to do especially well, and their Commanding Officers report in very high terms of their success. These are a few of the reports received :—

- "1. 'Bids fair to become a good musician.'
- "2. 'Doing remarkably well. Clean, smart, and very steady.'
- "3. 'Making steady progress on his instrument.'
- "4. 'Was appointed full bandsman within fifteen months of his enlistment.'
- "5. 'Is likely to prove a credit to Sutton Schools.'

"This report would not be complete without the very warm recognition of the help I receive from the staff—from Mr. Martin, the late Mr. Eyre, and the present school-master, Mr. Dean. Above all I must do justice to Mr. Steer, whose interest in the boys is as great as my own; he does much for them, and without him the work could not be carried on as it is. He is most accurate in his book-keeping, and his classification of boys would stand the severest test.

"Miss Thompson receives many of the boys at her house from time to time at tea, and I am not without hopes that some day we may follow the steps of Mrs. Lascelles, who, unknown to us, was at this work six years earlier. As the result of these meetings at her house, the Kensington and Chelsea District Schools Old Boys propose to start a club for themselves and their juniors, and so little do they dread to recognize their connection with the Schools, that when asked what name they proposed to give it, they said the Banstead Club.

"I have also most sincerely to thank the managers and other visitors who have undertaken cases for me. They have done work for which no thanks of mine can repay them.

"I am glad to learn that our work is being imitated elsewhere. I have had many letters of inquiry since the matter was made known through the Poor Law Schools Committee Report.

"BROOKE LAMBERT.

"THE VICARAGE, GREENWICH,
"March, 1897."

TABULATION, FEBRUARY, 1897.

GENERALLY.			IN DETAIL.		
CLASSIFICATION.	NUMBER OF BOYS.	PER-CENTAGE.	CLASSIFICATION.	NUMBER OF BOYS.	PER-CENTAGE.
1. Satisfactory .	372	82·2	1. Good	296	65·4
			2. Fairly Good. .	20	4·4
			3. Gone to relations. Doing well . . .	56	12·4
2. Doubtful . .	62	13·8	1. Gone to relations. No further record	50	11·0
			2. Not traced . .	6	1·4
			3. Not yet reported .	6	1·4
3. Unsatisfactory.	13	2·9	1. In Workhouse .	4	·9
			2. Unsatisfactory .	9	2·0
4. In Infirmary .	2	·4	In Infirmary . .	2	·4
5. Dead	3	·7	Dead	3	·7
Totals	453	100·0	Totals	453	100·0

APPENDIX M.

SCHEME OF THE GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY FOR EXTENDING
THE WORK OF THE C.W.O. DEPARTMENT.

I.

"(A) A Local Committee to be formed in each Union, and to be called the 'Union Committee Girls' Friendly Society.'"

"(B) This Local Committee to consist of

(a) the C.W.O. representatives of the branch or branches within the area of the Union;

(b) not less than two associates to be appointed by the Diocesan Head of the C.W.O. Department in consultation with the branch or branches;

(c) the Diocesan Head of the Department (*ex-officio*); and

(d) two of the Guardians of the Union.

"(C) The Chairwoman of the Committee to be appointed by the Diocesan Head of the Department.

"(D) Meetings of the Local Committees to be held *monthly* in large Unions, and in country Unions *quarterly* if possible.

"An alternative scheme to the above, which may be adopted where the 'Union Committee Girls' Friendly Society' is not practicable, at the discretion of the Diocesan Head, proposes that Boards of Guardians should be asked to appoint a Special Committee to consider questions relating to the welfare of Poor Law girls, and that the Committee should invite two or more representatives of the Girls' Friendly Society to confer with them."

II.

"(A) A Girls' Friendly Society Committee to be formed for each Poor Law Conference District.

"(B) This Committee to consist of (with power to add to their number)

(a) the Diocesan Head or Heads of the C.W.O. Department (*ex-officio*);

(b) the C.W.O. representative or representatives; and

(c) one Guardian from each Union Committee.

"(C) The Chairwoman of the Committee to be appointed by the Central Head of the C.W.O. Department.

"(D) The Committee to meet at least annually, and that after its business meeting it should hold a Conference to be thrown open to all interested in Poor Law work."

* Where desirable, the Unions may be grouped, the representation on the Committee to be on the same basis.

APPENDIX N.

ISOLATED (OR SEPARATED) HOMES.

Memorandum as to Conditions which the Local Government Board will require to be complied with when the system of Separated Homes is adopted by Guardians, subject to the consideration by the Board of the special circumstances in particular cases.

"1. That either buildings separate from the workhouse shall be provided, in connection with the homes, in which all children may be received and retained for a probationary period of not less than fourteen days before being drafted to the homes, or that separate accommodation, entirely distinct from the quarters assigned to the adult inmates, shall be provided at the Union Workhouse for the purpose.

"2. That in either case an adequate staff of officers shall be provided, in connection with the probationary wards, for the supervision of the children, and also for their education unless they are sent out to a public elementary school.

"3. That adequate sick accommodation shall be provided for the children, either in an infirmary in connection with the headquarters buildings, or in separate wards in the Workhouse infirmary.

"4. That each child shall be examined by the medical officer of the Workhouse both on admission to the headquarters buildings and immediately before being transferred to a home, and that a medical certificate shall be given by the medical officer as to the child's fitness to be transferred to the home.

"5. That an order for the child's admission to the home shall be issued by the superintendent of the headquarters buildings, or by the master of the Workhouse, as the case may be, in a form that shall contain, so far as ascertainable, the child's name, the date of birth, the religious denomination to which the child belongs, the names and addresses of his nearest relatives, and the standard, according to the Code of the Education Department, reached by the child when last attending school. Care must be taken that one clear day's notice of the proposed transfer is given in every case.

"6. That a superintendent shall be appointed, who shall have supervision of all the homes, and whose duty it shall be to visit each home at least three times every week, and to record the time of his arrival and departure, and any remarks in connection with the administration of the home which he may consider should be brought to the notice of the Guardians, in a book to be kept at the home for the purpose.

"7. That, in addition, a committee of the Guardians shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to visit and inspect each home once at least in each fortnight, to examine the books, and to record the fact of their visit, and any remarks which they may deem necessary in connection therewith, in a book to be kept at the home for the purpose.

"8. That further, a committee of ladies shall be appointed, not necessarily composed of ladies elected as Guardians, whose duty it shall be to visit each home once at least in every week, and to record the fact of their visit, and any remarks they may think desirable in the visitor's book at the home.

"9. That a foster-mother shall be appointed to each home, and that she shall be a person without children dependent on her, and that her own children shall not be allowed to live with her in the home.

"10. That more than fifteen children shall not be placed in one home.

"11. That children shall not be sent to the homes before they are three years of age, and that boys shall not be kept in the same homes as girls after they are ten years of age.

"12. That care shall be taken that each child shall be sent to a place of worship and Sunday school of the denomination to which the child belongs, and that if the children are sent to board schools, adequate religious instruction shall be provided for them apart from their school training.

"13. That care shall be taken that a due amount of time for recreation shall be secured for the children, and that such arrangements for the performance of the domestic work in connection with each home shall be made, as to ensure that no child shall be employed on any such work after the return from afternoon school on an ordinary week day, or after the midday meal on Saturdays, with the exception of washing the crockery used at the last meal, and the putting to bed of the younger children by the elder children.

"14. That a dietary table shall be drawn up setting forth the maximum quantity of provisions to be supplied weekly to each home, and that the foster-mother be empowered to requisition up to such maximum.

"15. That a journal shall be kept by the foster-mother of a home, in which she shall report as to the character of the provisions provided for each meal in the home, the amount to be given to each child being left to the discretion of the foster-mother.

"16. That the books referred to in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, and 15 shall be submitted to the Guardians at each of their ordinary meetings.

"17. That corporal punishment shall be inflicted by the superintendent of the homes only, and in presence of the foster-mother of the home in which the child lives, and that he be required to adhere strictly to the following regulations in the General Consolidated Order:—

"Article 138. No corporal punishment shall be inflicted on any female child.

"Article 139. No corporal punishment shall be inflicted on any male child, except with a rod or other instrument such as may have been approved of by the Guardians or the Visiting Committee.

"Article 140. No corporal punishment shall be inflicted on any male child until two hours shall have elapsed from the commission of the offence for which such punishment is inflicted.

"Article 143. The [superintendent] shall keep a book to be furnished to him by the Guardians, in which he shall duly enter (1) all cases of refractory or disorderly children reported to the Guardians for their decision thereon; and (2) all cases of children who may have been punished without the direction of the Guardians, with the particulars of their respective offences and punishments.

"Article 145. Such book shall be laid on the table at every ordinary meeting of the Guardians, and every entry made in such book since the last ordinary meeting shall be read to the Board by the clerk. The Guardians shall thereupon in the first place give direction as to the punishment of any refractory or disorderly child reported for their decision, and such direction shall be entered on the Minutes of the proceedings of the day, and a copy thereof shall be inserted by the clerk in the book specified in Article 143. The Guardians, in the second place, shall take into their consideration the cases in which punishments are reported to have been already inflicted by the [superintendent] or other officer, and shall require the [superintendent] to bring before them any child so punished who may have signified a wish to see the Guardians. If the Guardians in any case are of opinion that the officer has acted illegally or improperly, such opinion shall be entered on the Minutes, and shall be communicated to the [superintendent].

"18. That arrangements shall be made for the medical officer of the district in which a home is situated to inspect the children at intervals of not exceeding one month, and upon the summons of the superintendent or foster-mother to attend duly and punctually upon any child that may need it.

"19. That arrangements, where possible, shall be made for the children to attend classes for technical education.

"20. That relief-mothers shall be appointed to take charge of homes during the absence of the foster-mothers, and that leave of absence shall be granted to every foster-mother for half-a-day in each week.

"(It may be desirable that the wife of the superintendent of the homes should be a relief-mother, as under each an arrangement the superintendent would be likely to obtain fuller information as to the administration in each home than would otherwise be the case.)

"21. That the fullest liberty consistent with reasonable discipline and their moral welfare shall be accorded to the children outside the homes, the yards of which would not, as a rule, afford adequate space or scope for recreation.

"It will of course, be understood that any premises proposed to be acquired as a home must be inspected and reported on by the inspector of the district before the assent of the Local Government Board is given to the hiring or purchase of the premises, and in the selection of any house for the purposes of a home it is very important that the Guardians should ascertain that the sanitary arrangements are satisfactory, that the water-closet accommodation is sufficient, that there is a constant supply or adequate storage of water, that there are means of obtaining sufficient hot water, that there is an alternative means of escape in case of fire, and that there is a spare room reserved in case of illness.

"When homes are provided, the Board will issue an order embodying regulations for their administration, and an order as to accounts.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, August, 1896."

APPENDIX O.

SCHEME OF THE WHITECHAPEL BOARD OF GUARDIANS FOR PROVIDING FOR THE PAUPER CHILDREN OF THE UNION.

Provision for one hundred children is to be made in the form of four pairs of semi-detached cottages of simple construction, each for ten children of mixed ages and both sexes; and one cottage for twenty boys who, by reason of age, may be inadmissible into a "mixed" cottage.

The cottages will not be on one site, but on separate sites and sufficiently apart to prevent the children of the several pairs of cottages from forming one community.

Subject to this, and to each pair of cottages being within a convenient distance of a Public Elementary School, one and all are to be as near as may be found practicable to a "Head Quarters" Home. By this and other means, it is desired to ensure a responsible control and, at the same time, that the every-day life of the children shall, as far as possible, correspond to that of other children of the working class.

Each "mixed" cottage will be under the care of a Foster-mother, and the Boys' cottage under the care of a Foster-father and Foster-mother.

Arrangements will be made for the attendance of the children at a Public Elementary School the same as for ordinary children, without distinctive dress; and no serious difficulty is anticipated in the way of securing the admission of the children to such a school or schools.

With regard to the "Head Quarters" Home already referred to, it will, in addition to Officers' Quarters and Receiving rooms, include a small Infirmary for sick children. In forming this "Head Quarters" it will be the anxious care of the Guardians to make the arrangements as simple and as free from distinctive and institutional appearance as possible.

As to the administration of the series of "Homes," it is suggested that, subject to the authority of the Guardians, the general control and government should be in the hands of a Lady Superintendent of administrative capacity and who should be a trained nurse. This will be a "new departure" in the management of children. At the same time, having regard to the small number to be dealt with, the importance of bringing the best and most refining influences to bear upon Foster-parents and children, and the value of expert knowledge in watching over their physical well-being, it is thought that the experiment of such an appointment will not only be an interesting and useful one, but will probably be of service to the Guardians in the selection of Foster-mothers. The appointment of a Lady Superintendent will probably necessitate the engagement of a female clerk for the accounts.

In the "mixed" Cottages, the Boys are not to be retained beyond the age—not being earlier than seven years and not later than ten years—which the Lady Superintendent may, in her discretion, determine.

It is necessary to add that the Guardians do not consider the scheme universally applicable—but as one which appears to them to be best adapted to the local circumstances of their Union, and which is rendered possible by the small number of children to be dealt with.

The Guardians are quite ready to accept the "Conditions," which the Local Government Board will probably impose, viz:—*

1. Provision for children over three years of age, at present in the Workhouse, pending their transfer—after a prescribed probationary period—to the separated country Homes, including an adequate staff of Officers and arrangements for their education:
2. The appointment (in addition to a Committee of Guardians) of a Committee of Ladies to visit and report upon the Homes weekly:
3. Arrangements for the attendance of the children at a place of Worship and Sunday-school and adequate religious instruction at home:
4. Restrictive measures against the undue employment of the children, so as to ensure sufficient time for recreation:
5. Rules in regard to dietary and requisitions:
6. The appointment of a Medical Officer whose duty it will be to inspect every child at least once a month, as well as to attend upon the sick:
7. Arrangements, where possible, for the children to attend classes for technical education; and
8. Provision for the occasional relief of Foster-mothers from duty.

* See Appendix N, *ante*, p. 425.

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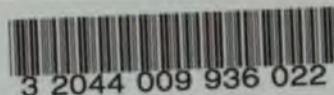
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